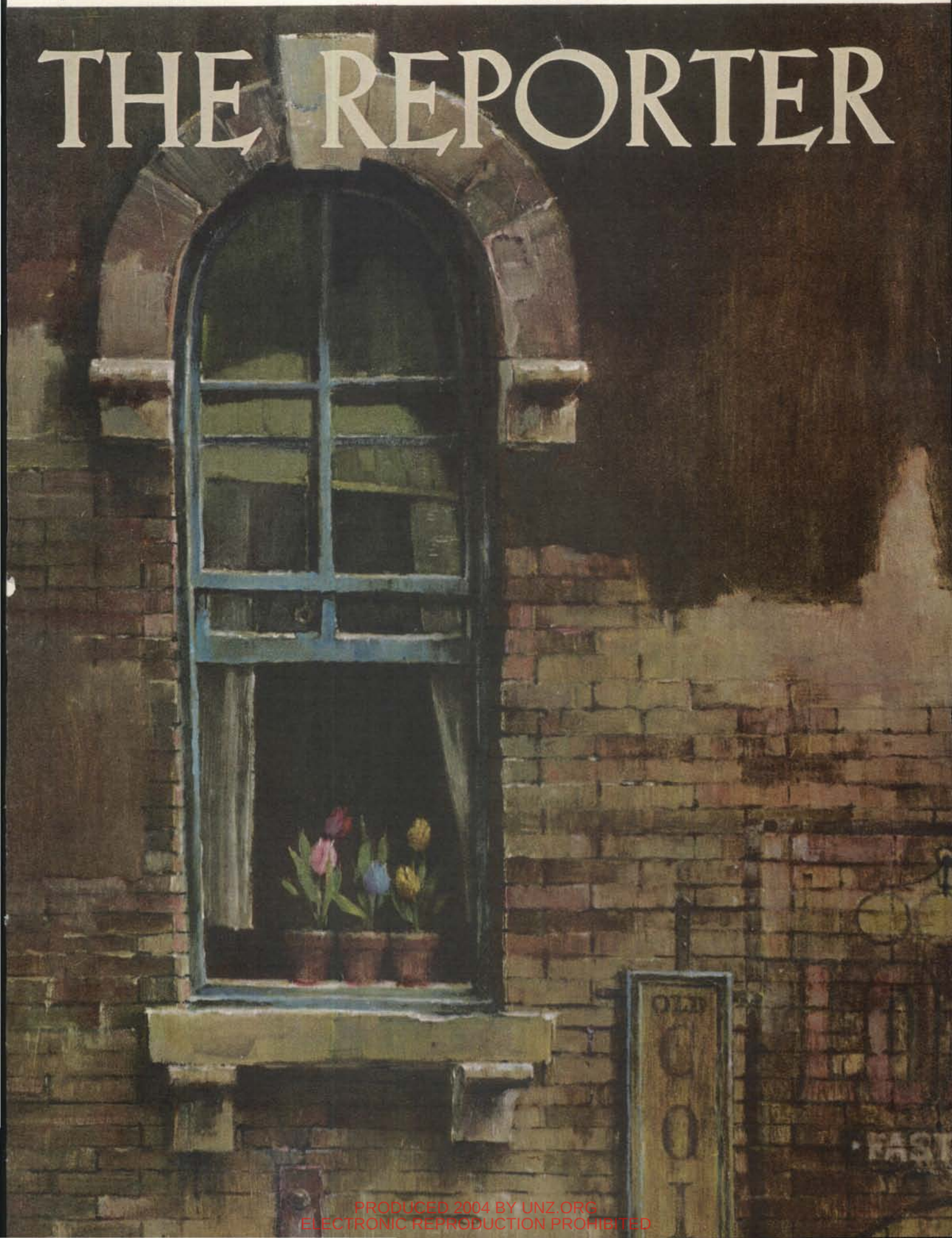
Labor and the Backlash

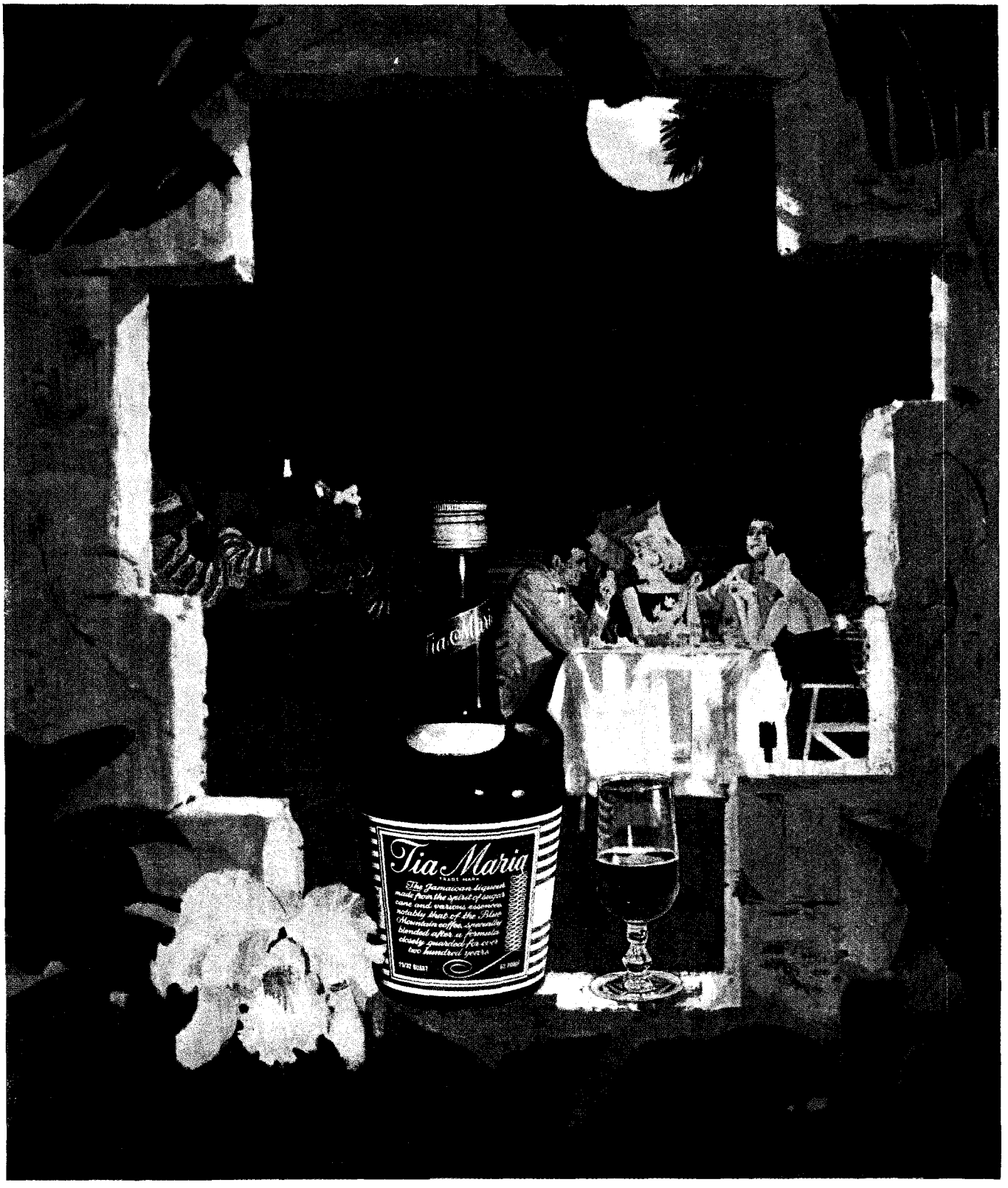
September 10, 1964 35¢

POLLUTED AIR IN OUR CITIES

THE REPORTER



PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

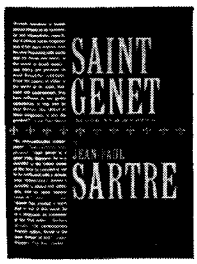

Tia Maria
TRADE MARK
The Jamaican liqueur made from the spirit of sugar cane and various essences, notably that of the Blue Mountain coffee, specially blended after a formula closely guarded for over two hundred years

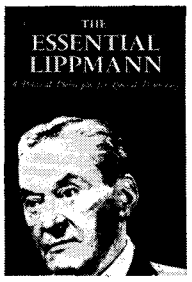
. . . Tia Maria, Jamaica's celebrated liqueur

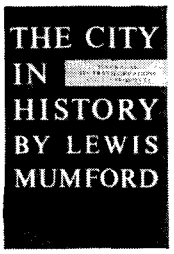
You bring it to your lips . . . its mysterious fragrance greets you. You sip . . . and the perfect meal begins its grand finale.

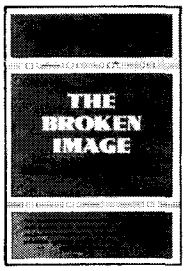
W. A. TAYLOR & COMPANY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK • SOLE DISTRIBUTORS FOR THE U. S. A. 63 PROOF

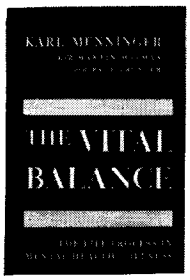
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

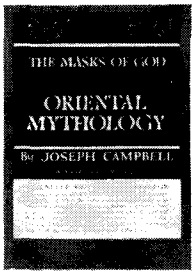


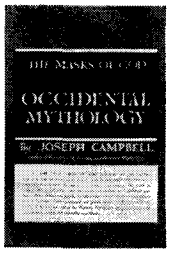


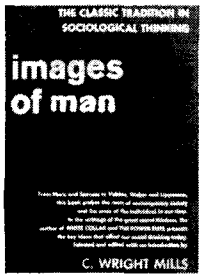


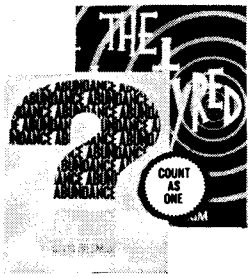






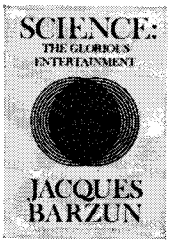


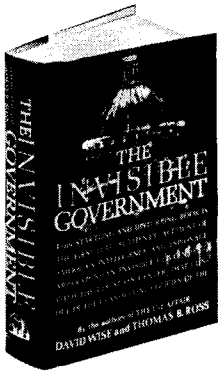


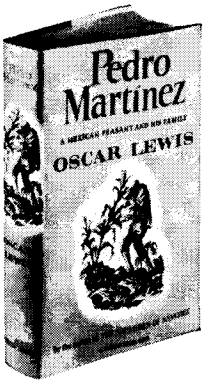


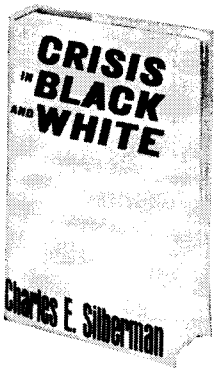
ANY 3 BOOKS FREE

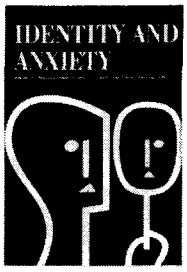
WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION / **RETAIL VALUES TO $42.50**

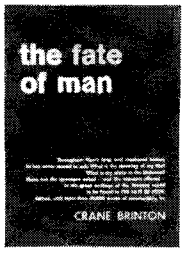












SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE – Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club **are** different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value – solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection as a member. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire as many as 5 books in this way. ■ **CONVENIENCE.**

Crisis in Black and White, Charles E. Silberman. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.95
Saint Genet: *Actor and Martyr,* Jean-Paul Sartre. Retail $8.50. Member's price $5.95
The Vital Balance: *The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness.* Karl Menninger. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $6.95
***Abundance for What?** David Riesman; *and* **The Martyred,** Richard E. Kim. Combined retail price $11.00 ..... Member's price (for both books) $6.50
The Invisible Government, David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.50
Occidental Mythology: *The Masks of God:* Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.95 ..... Member's price $5.50
Oriental Mythology: *The Masks of God,* Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50
Images of Man: *The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking,* edited by C. Wright Mills. Including Lippmann, Spencer, Weber, Marx, Engles, Veblen, and many others. Retails $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95
The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, Aquinas, Nietzsche, Engels, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Huxley, and more. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95
Pedro Martinez: a *Mexican Peasant and his Family,* Oscar Lewis. Retail $8.75 ..... Member's price $5.95
Science: *The Glorious Entertainment,* Jacques Barzun. Retail $6.00 ..... Member's price $4.95
The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50 ..... Member's price $6.95
Memories, Dreams, Reflections, C. G. Jung. Retail $7.50 ... Member's price $5.95
The Essential Walter Lippmann: *A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy. Editors: Clinton Rossiter & James Lare.* Retail $7.50 ... Member's price $5.50
The Broken Image: *Man, Science, and Society,* Floyd Matson. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50
The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $5.95
Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* A massive compendium of studies by Mead, May, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, Mills, and more. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50

***TWO BOOKS COUNTING AS ONE SELECTION**

Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home – enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want ■ **AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%.** As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $36.55** ■ **BONUS BOOKS.** When your introductory agreement has been completed, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, Inc.

215 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10003

You may enroll and send me the 3 free books of my choice, with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates from the wide range of books that will be made available to me in the coming year at substantial savings. When I do not want the current selection – or prefer to order another book – I may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

First Selection _____

Free Books 1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....
Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip Code B64-98

(Same offer & prices apply in Canada: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.)

COPYRIGHT 2004 BANNER CORP.
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAMAE

A well-bred young lady of Japan studies classic calligraphy . . . *ikebana*, flower arranging . . . *chanoyu*, the centuries old tea ceremony. Through these she learns that the simplest of tasks can be endowed with a special beauty and serenity. You will discover this when Japan Air Lines hostess Tamae Nagashima offers you a scented *o-shibori* hot towel . . . a *happi* coat to relax in . . . warmed *sake* to bid you welcome. The kimono-clad grace of Tamae is delightfully complemented by the classic Japanese atmosphere aboard your DC-8 Jet Courier.

Join Tamae on your next flight to Japan, the Orient . . . or on to Europe around the world. Add Hawaii to your itinerary at no extra fare . . . another "plus" when you fly Japan Air Lines. *the calm beauty of Japan at almost the speed of sound.*

JAPAN AIR LINES

Choose from daily DC-8 Jet flights to Tokyo via Hawaii from Los Angeles or San Francisco. See your travel agent for reservations.

THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton *Managing Editor,* Robert Bingham
Senior Editor, Gouverneur Paulding *Washington Correspondent,* Meg Greenfield
Art Director, Reg Massie
Assistant Managing Editor, Donald A. Allan *Copy Editor,* Robert S. Gallagher
Writers: Claire Sterling, Edmond Taylor, George Bailey, Barbara Carter
Staff: Elizabeth Parsons (*Asst. to the Editor*), Louisa Messolonghites (*Asst. to Mng. Ed.*), Ruth Ames (*Librarian*), John A. Anderson, Jr., Lee Culpepper, Virginia Held, Nora Magid, Elizabeth N. Layne

General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley *Director of Advertising,* E. Laurence White, Jr.
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander *Production Manager,* Rudolph Ford
Controller, Anthony E. Lanza *Asst. Circ. Mgr.,* Natalie Schwalb
Published by The Reporter Magazine Company, Nathan W. Levin, President

VOLUME 31, NO. 4 **SEPTEMBER 10, 1964**

The Democratic Convention

THE REPORTER'S NOTES
ATLANTIC CITY. . . . . *Meg Greenfield* 12

THE PRESIDENT-CANDIDATE—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 22

Labor and the Backlash

CIVIL RIGHTS: THE LAW AND THE UNIONS . . . . . *A. H. Raskin* 23

GARY'S RANK-AND-FILE REACTION . . . . *Victor Hoffmann and John Strietelmeier* 28

At Home & Abroad

FREEDOM SCHOOLS, NORTH AND SOUTH . . . . . *Carleton Mabee* 30

DRAWING THE LINE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA . . . . . *Denis Warner* 33

CAP AND TVA: BARRY'S FINE DISTINCTION . . . . . *Don Oberdorfer* 36

THE AIR AROUND US . . . . . *C. W. Griffin, Jr.* 39

Views & Reviews

INDUSTRY DONS SOCK AND BUSKIN . . . . . *Alan Levy* 44

VIRTUOSITY (DRAWINGS) . . . . . *Fernando Krahn* 47

Books:

PROSPECT OF DELIGHT . . . . . *M. L. Rosenthal* 50

AN OLD HAND SPEAKS OUT. . . . . *Charles Burton Marshall* 52

GROWING UP RICH . . . . . *John William Ward* 53

DULLES AS VILLAIN . . . . . *Gordon A. Craig* 54

THE REPORTER PUZZLE 20

THE REPORTER, September 10, 1964, Volume 31, No. 4. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021.

© 1964 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention.

Subscription prices, United States and U. S. Possessions: One year $7, Two years $11, Three years $14. Additional postage for Canada and Pan-American Union, $.50 per year; all other countries, $1.00 per year. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton, Ohio 45401.** Indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

Editorial and Business Office: 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021; Phone: TEmpleton 2-8800. Washington Office: 500 National Press Bldg., 14th and F Sts., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, DIstrict 7-0045.

REPRODUCED 2009 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BIGGEST HI-FI RECORD BARGAIN EVER!

9

COMPLETE MUSIC MASTERPIECES

by nine immortal composers

for just 10 cents!

Just 10c, mailed with the coupon below, brings you this brilliantly recorded, full 12" L. P. record in either Stereo or Monaural.

Here is truly an amazing record value—well-loved music you and your family will play and enjoy for years—superbly recorded for full-fidelity listening pleasure by the world-famous Vienna Festival Orchestra—all for just 10c!

AND THAT'S NOT ALL—

EXTRA! Music Appreciation Course Included Free!

With this record—and still for the same 10c—you will receive the first issue of a fascinating course in music appreciation, "Nature of Rhythm"—absolutely free!

PLUS:

The chance to enrich both your life and your record library inexpensively and without any obligation whatsoever.

Yes, your modest investment of one dime, not only brings you this marvelous record and the free issue of "Nature of Rhythm" but it also enrolls you as an associate member in Music Treasures of the World. Each month will bring you without obligation—a new opportunity to add to your own collection. A giant range of selections—masterpiece recordings from ballet to musical comedy—symphonic and operatic—serious and light—all musical treasures all impeccably recorded in full fidelity by internationally renown orchestras. As a member of Music Treasures of the World you have all of these unique advantages:

- You are free to accept or reject the monthly selections. You accept only what you want—when you want it.
- There's no fixed number of records you have to buy! You may accept 12 a year or none at all!
- You may cancel your associate membership at any time! You don't have to pay the $3.98 to $5.98 that records of comparable fidelity usually cost. You only pay the Music Treasures Group rate of $2.98 each plus a few cents for U. S. tax and shipping costs.
- Extra with each record, you receive a fascinating Music Appreciation Course about the composers and the selections—truly fascinating and authoritative "program notes" absolutely FREE!

You get all these exciting Musical Masterpieces in this wonderful record offer:

1. **Mozart: Magic Flute Overture**
2. **Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2**
3. **Schumann: Traumerei**
4. **Saint-Saen: Bacchanale (Sampson & Delilah)**
5. **Berlioz: Roman Carnival Overture**
6. **Rimsky-Korsakov: Flight of the Bumble Bee**
7. **Verdi: Grand March from Aida**
8. **Rossini: Barber of Seville Overture**
9. **Offenbach: Can-Can**

AMERICANA INTERSTATE CORP. M-9R
Music Treasures of the World Division
Mundelein, Illinois 60660

Please send me my 9 Exciting Adventures in High Fidelity or Electronic Stereo on one 12" long-playing record for which I enclose 10c. You are to reserve an associate membership in my name, but I am not obligated to take any specific number of records.

I will be entitled to receive each month's selection and keep the Treatise on the Music Appreciation Course. After examining each record I may return it after 7 days and owe nothing. Or, for each record I keep I will send you only $2.98 (plus a few cents for U. S. tax and shipping). There is no additional charge for Electronic Stereo.

I am entitled to cancel this membership any time I please and I may buy only those records I want or none at all, if I so choose. In any case, the monthly treatise on the Music Appreciation Course is mine to keep without charge.

Check here ☐ if you wish Electronic Stereo.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip Code_____

Signature_____
(Please sign here)

This offer limited to those who have never before taken advantage of a Music Treasures introductory offer. Only one subscription per household.

DISCOVER FOR YOURSELF, HOW WONDERFULLY AND INEXPENSIVELY YOU CAN ENRICH YOUR MUSICAL LIFE AND RECORD LIBRARY. MAIL YOUR 10c TODAY WHILE THIS EXTRAORDINARY INTRODUCTORY OFFER IS IN EFFECT — IT'S YOUR ONLY OBLIGATION — NOW OR EVER!

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since 1889
SAFE AND STRONG
IN CALIFORNIA
STATE MUTUAL SAVINGS

4.97% annual return on your savings when our 4.85% current annual rate is compounded daily, paid quarterly and maintained a year.

Savings INSURED to $10,000 by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

ASSETS OVER $300,000,000

Daily interest from date received, paid through end of quarter. • Funds received or postmarked by the 10th earn interest from the 1st. • Postage paid both ways.

CLIP THIS COUPON FOR HIGHER INTEREST

State Mutual Savings & Loan Assoc.
Dept. 560, 415 W. Fifth Street
Los Angeles, California 90013

☐ Please ☐ OPEN ☐ ADD TO my insured account for $_____ in name(s) as indicated below. My check or M.O. is enclosed.
☐ I desire further savings information.

NAME _____
STREET _____
CITY STATE ZONE or ZIP NO.
I.D. or Soc. Sec. No. _____

One of America's most militant liberals and libertarians scrutinizes

- nonconformity
- the limits of Kennedy-liberalism
- McCarthyism
- our "illusion of invincibility"
- our "tradition of freedom"

And Roche goes on to slaughter Sacred Cows right, left, and center in 42 lively, scholarly pieces.

SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE

Essays on the Theory and Structure of Politics by JOHN P. ROCHE, National Chairman of ADA, author of *The Quest for the Dream* $6.95

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
60 Fifth Avenue, New York 10011

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THE Democratic convention went on and on in Atlantic City, producing few if any surprises. The President's acceptance speech is the subject of **Max Ascoli's** editorial. The Reporter's Notes, too, are devoted to the doings in Convention Hall. Now that the campaign is in full swing, we shall have occasion to speak further on the issues before Election Day . . . . The Civil Rights Act has intensified the labor movement's problem of Negro membership. How the unions face the test of full integration can be decisive both for organized labor and for the civil-rights movement. Union leadership must be credited with considerable foresight in promoting one of the most controversial sections of the act—the one banning discrimination in employment. But at the local level and among the rank and file, there are many signs of a reaction that will bring unionists' votes to Barry Goldwater and headaches for both labor and the civil-rights movement. **A. H. Raskin,** a member of the editorial board of the New York *Times*, describes these problems in a national context. **Victor Hoffmann,** a professor of government at Valparaiso University in Indiana, and **John Strietelmeier,** managing editor of that university's magazine, the *Cresset*, offer a case history of how the issue has affected one union stronghold, Gary, Indiana.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS—classes for Negro schoolchildren taught by volunteers after regular school hours —are a potentially important new civil-rights weapon. Conceived in Boston, they have spread to New York, Cleveland, and Mississippi, where **Carleton Mabee** interviewed students and instructors. Mr. Mabee, whose *The American Leonardo: The Life of Samuel F.B. Morse* won a Pulitzer Prize, this fall will be chairman of the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terre Haute, Indiana . . . . **Denis Warner,** who regularly reports from Southeast Asia, proposes that the Johnson administration establish a "hold-fast line" in Vietnam and Laos to deter Communist aggression . . . . The Central Arizona Project, a billion-dollar public power and irrigation complex co-sponsored by Senator Barry Goldwater, offers an interesting opportunity to examine the Republican Presidential candidate's fine distinctions between Federal spending on the Tennessee Valley Authority and his home state. **Don Oberdorfer,** a Washington magazine writer, tells the story . . . . Air pollution has been with us since Prometheus. But, as **C. W. Griffin, Jr.,** an engineer-journalist, points out, the gases that befoul the air today have added new and lethal dimensions to the problem.

THE vocational dilemma of the youth torn between the theatre and the managership of his father's shirtwaist factory has been solved. The answer, as a number of visitors to the New York World's Fair are discovering, is a career in industrial show business, where method actors and shipping clerks can commingle with mutual financial satisfaction. Not that there is anything new about the process of applying a musical score and choreography to business objectives. As **Alan Levy,** a New York free-lance writer, points out, the off-Wall Street theatre is a half century old, with an annual investment today at least four times the amount spent on Broadway itself. . . . **Fernando Krahn** has a fine ear for a virtuoso performance with social overtones. . . . **M. L. Rosenthal,** whose collected poems, *Blue Boy on Skates*, was published by Oxford University Press, teaches at New York University. . . . **Charles Burton Marshall** is with the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research. . . . This fall, **John William Ward** will join the Amherst College faculty as professor of history and American studies. . . . A history professor at Stanford University, **Gordon A. Craig** spent the summer at the Free University in Berlin.

Our cover is by **Richard Pfahl.**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN CASE YOU EVER DIAL 260-5171

Pick a number. Any number that represents one of 70 million phones in the Bell System. Dial it. More than likely you'll be connected in seconds. You may never call it again. But the means to do it must always be there. ☐ Building a communications network to provide this kind of service *requires millions of parts, working together reliably as a unified whole. From coast to coast, more* than 2½ million billion interconnections are needed to provide immediate service from anywhere to anywhere, 24 hours a day. ☐ For performance like this, the many parts of the network must be designed and built with reliability and compatibility in mind. In the Bell System, this comes about through close teamwork between Bell Telephone Laboratories, the 21 Bell telephone companies and Western Electric, the manufacturing and supply unit. Each teammate has unique skills that contribute to low cost phone service that is the most reliable in the world. That's why Western Electric has been, since 1882, a member of the Bell Telephone System.

WESTERN ELECTRIC

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Closed Circuit Television Service

The University seeks a DIRECTOR for its new central, University Television Service—the first of its kind to be established by a British University—for experimenting with the use of television in teaching and research.

Appointment will be at a salary within the Professorial range and not less than £3,400 a year. The Director's responsibilities will include development, organization and administration of the service, interesting and advising academic staff in the uses of television and investigating its place in university education.

Applications (three copies) stating age, qualifications and experience and naming three referees, should reach The Registrar, The University, Leeds, 2, (from whom further particulars may be obtained) not later than 30th September, 1964.

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #107

Acrostician—

IGNAZIO SILONE

T	I	T	A	N	I	A	■	T	A	R	A	N	T	O
O	■	R	■	E	■	T	■	H	■	A	■	U	■	U
P	R	O	T	E	S	T	■	E	D	G	E	C	U	T
I	■	D	■	D	■	I	■	H	■	E	■	L	■	O
C	O	D	E	■	B	R	E	A	D	■	D	E	A	F
A	■	E	■	R	■	E	■	R	■	G	■	I	■	H
L	A	N	Y	A	R	D	■	D	E	L	I	C	T	I
A	■	■	■	V	■	■	■	■	■	A	■	■	■	S
L	A	M	B	E	T	H	■	A	N	D	W	I	N	E
L	■	A	■	N	■	O	■	G	■	S	■	N	■	L
U	L	U	S	■	A	S	T	O	R	■	A	C	R	E
S	■	N	■	B	■	T	■	N	■	A	■	L	■	M
I	N	D	I	A	N	A	■	I	N	S	P	I	R	E
O	■	E	■	K	■	G	■	Z	■	E	■	N	■	N
N	E	R	V	U	R	E	■	E	A	S	I	E	S	T

If you love children, your heart will go out to Tommy Littleraven, a 9-year-old American Indian boy who is attending school off the reservation for the first time. Going to school in town frightens Tommy. He is afraid that his non-Indian schoolmates are laughing at his tattered clothing, at his faulty English.

He yearns to join the school club, buy personal books, clothing, go out for a soda with the other boys. But his parents are too poor to give him pocket money. And so Tommy wanders off by himself and dreams that someday he will have the money to do what his non-Indian schoolmates do.

if you love children

Make a dream come true! You, your school or group can make this dream come true for an Indian child like Tommy. Contribute $10 a month and provide one Indian youngster with suitable clothing, personal books and a cash allowance. You will receive the photograph and story of the child you help and enjoy a warm person-to-person relationship through an exchange of letters. Please give one Indian youngster an even break – and the sense of security and confidence he needs to join the mainstream of American life.

Serving Children for 30 Years

SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION

Norwalk, Connecticut

I wish to contribute $120.00 annually to help an American Indian girl ☐ boy ☐

Enclosed is my first payment:

$10.00 a month ☐ $ 60.00 semi-annually ☐

$30.00 a quarter ☐ $120.00 annually ☐

I cannot sponsor a child, enclosed is contribution of $_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

Contributions are income tax deductible. RE-9-10-4

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ROCHESTER RIOTS

To the Editor: From Barbara Carter's coverage of the Rochester riots ("The Reporter's Notes," August 13), it is easy to see that Mayor Frank Lamb still hasn't the slightest notion of who the Negroes in his city are or what their real problems might be. The glib scorn which allows him to refer to the NAACP leaders in his city as a "bunch of creeps" may have duped him into believing that the problems of the Negro community were neither pressing nor important, especially since the city had recently endowed that community with one of the nation's most modern playgrounds. If Mayor Lamb carries forward his policy of governing by invitation or intimidation ("They never phoned or made an appointment," "We won't be able to build those new schools or playgrounds they want") rather than governing by initiative and intelligent analysis, he will bring down new calamities of civil disobedience upon Rochester.

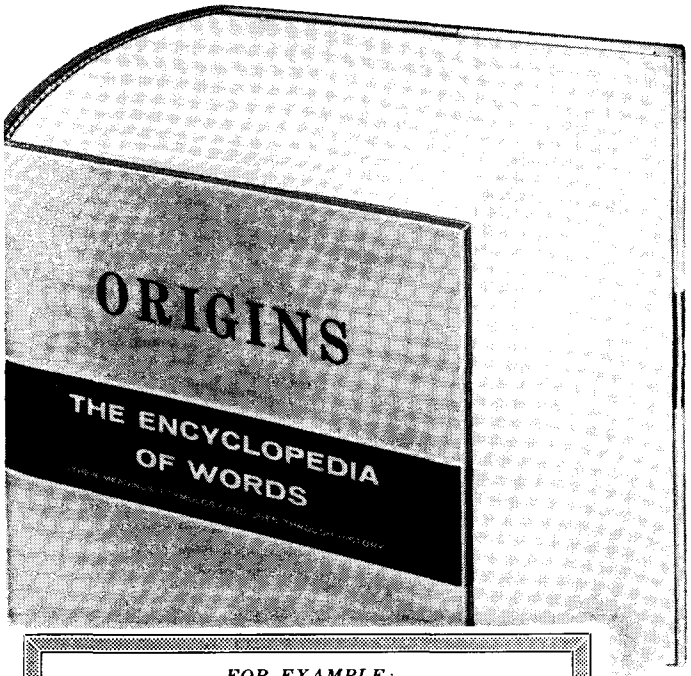
ALFRED E. PRETTYMAN
New York

To the Editor: Barbara Carter, who visited my office in the wake of the recent riots that so seriously damaged our community, writes as magnificently as she always has done. Her prose style, which I have long admired, is representative of the usually high caliber of your magazine.

I must say, also, that the Carter piece is notable chiefly for what it does not say. Miss Carter found no problem in relating that the County Human Relations Commission had a report that the policemen said to spectators, "O.K. you niggers, get back." Perhaps Miss Carter and your readers would be interested to know that our policemen and firemen were called "rat bastards," "dirty fuzz," "white dogs," and other names you could not publish. Perhaps the readers of *The Reporter* should be informed, as they were not, that the policemen of the City of Rochester exercised tremendous restraint in the face of extreme provocation, that no one was shot, that policemen did not, as elsewhere in this country, fire over the heads of the rioters, that they used exceptional judgment and remarkable courage. Miss Carter did not think this worth reporting.

As for the alleged "warnings" received by me from a self-appointed spokesman for Rochester's Negroes, I repeat that I have not since January received one word of warning from Mrs. Constance Mitchell [the elected county supervisor for one of the city's two Negro wards] or anyone else. What has happened, of course, is that everyone tried to get into the act after the riots broke out. And the story from each was the same: Do what I say and the riots will end. This generally meant releasing fifty per cent, twenty-five per cent, or one per cent of those arrested. It also

REPRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FOR EXAMPLE:

Partridge's Great New
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORDS

☐ **53. ORIGINS by Eric Partridge.** The most comprehensive encyclopedia-dictionary in 53 years—of word definitions and origins. Covers words—common and uncommon—including many popularly supposed to be slang or vulgar. For example: "the only two words forbidden to be printed in full everywhere in the British Commonwealth" are revealed to be "super-bluebloods" whose origins go back even farther than ancient Latin! 12,000 alphabetized sections [including definitions and foreign equivalents] in 1,300,000 words; 970 pages.

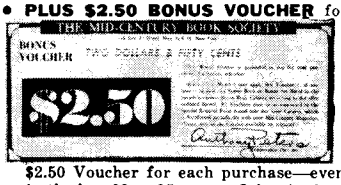
PUBLISHER'S RETAIL PRICE $16

ANY 3 BOOKS

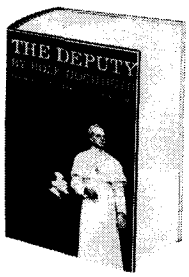
FREE

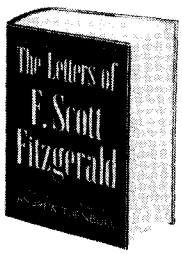
WE WILL GIVE YOU...

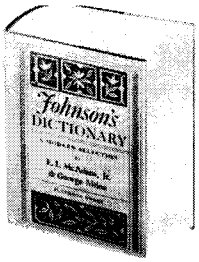
- **ANY 3 BOOKS FREE** —even if one of your 3 choices is this $16 Encyclopedia!
- **PLUS 1 OR MORE OTHER BOOKS** for only $2.95 each *regardless of regular retail prices up to $10 or more!*
- **PLUS $2.50 BONUS VOUCHER** for each and every book you buy later. These $2.50 *Bonus Vouchers*—which may be applied immediately, at any time, toward other books of your choice—are given *in addition* to massive *outright discounts* on books offered by The Mid-Century Book Society, which has been called "America's most rewarding book club." You receive at least one $2.50 Voucher for each purchase—even on the many books offered to members in the low $3 to $5 range. Other books often earn *more* than one voucher.

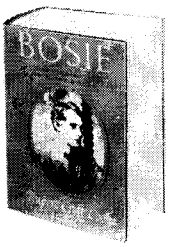


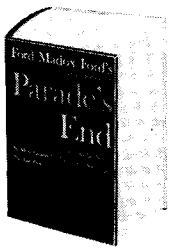
- **SAVE UP TO 90% NOW.** New readers may thus save up to 90% *now*—by joining the Society *at this time.* While you need take only one book at the introductory *extra-discount* price, the more you take the more you save.
- **CANCELLATION.** *Either*—return all these books after 2-weeks' free examination, without cost or obligation. *Or*—take only two more books during the coming year out of hundreds to be offered.
- **THE MID-CENTURY MAGAZINE FREE,** bringing you advance reviews of new books published each month—with informed recommendations of books to both read and *keep* [no fall-apart paperbacks] in every subject-category—books for pleasure, profit, reference . . . for the many interests, needs and appetites of America's "New Renaissance" readers . . . the best *novels, non-fiction, reference works, biographies, art books, histories*—and many more.
- **PROFIT SHARING:** Because the Society can order books in large quantities, it shares profits with members through sensationally *lower prices* plus the *Bonus Book Vouchers.* Members can thus buy first-run books—in publishers' regular cloth-bound editions for their permanent libraries [not cardboard-bound "cheapies"]—for less than throw-away paperbacks cost!
- **BECAUSE** many of the books offered in this announcement are in short supply, **fulfillment of this offer can only be guaranteed for 30 days.** ***Please, therefore, enter all your choices by number on the Request Form—and mail without delay.***

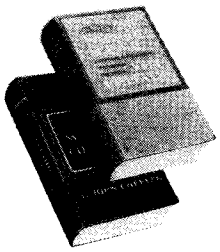












PLEASE ORDER BY NUMBER

☐ **132. DICTIONARY OF SLANG & UNCONVENTIONAL ENGLISH** *by Eric Partridge.* The new revised and enlarged 5th edition—*1,376 pp. 50,000 definitions totaling 1,400,000 words. 9½ x 7 x 2½ inches. Retail $16.00.*

☐ **149. A WORLD ON THE WANE.** Perhaps the most remarkable work ever published on a sexually-uninhibited primitive culture. Includes 116 revealing photographs and drawings. *Retail $12.50.*

THE GERMAN "CATCH 22"

☐ **181. THE OFFICER FACTORY** *by Hans Hellmut Kirst.* Behind-the-scenes chaos and murder in Hitler's 3rd Reich from high comedy to nerve-tearing tragedy. [502 pp.] *Retail $6.50.*

☐ **274. THE DEPUTY** *by Rolf Hochhuth. Retail $5.95.*

☐ **261. A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF THE VULGAR TONGUE** *by Captain Francis Grose.* This ribald lexicon (which first rocked the English-speaking world in 1796) has been "re-discovered" and brought again to fame by Eric Partridge in an intriguingly annotated version of the original. "A delightful book, but don't give to Aunt Maude for Christmas." *Retail $7.95.*

☐ **253. PERVERSE CRIMES IN HISTORY** *by R. E. L. Masters.* The weird and little-known facts about sex crimes and criminals—by the author of the famous "underground" best-seller, "Cradle of Erotica." *Retail $9.50.*

☐ **257. DOROTHY & RED** *by Vincent Sheean. Retail $6.95.*

☐ **269. THE COMPLETE TALES OF HENRY JAMES, 1888-92** *Edited by Leon Edel* [*Pulitzer Prize-Winner*]. 2 vols. 966 pp. *Comb. Retail $11.90.*

☐ **938. 2-BOOK SET** [Counts as one book under this offer]: **RIMBAUD** *by Enid Starkie.* A sensationally illuminating biography of slave trader and super-debauchée as well as sensitive aesthete. 491 pp. **BAUDELAIRE** *by Enid Starkie.* The unbelievable story of this passionate poet who was also drug addict, dandy, nihilist. 621 pp. [Both books profusely illustrated.] *Combined Retail $20.00.*

☐ **267. BOSIE** *by Rupert Croft-Cooke.* The strange true story of Oscar Wilde's "paramour", Lord Alfred "Bosie" Douglas. Illustrated. *Retail $7.50.*

☐ **251. WOMEN** *by John P. Lundin.* This joyful "confession" of a modern man's lascivious relationships with 10 women puts to shame the memoirs of Casanova and Frank Harris. *Retail $6.50.*

☐ **192. THOMAS MANN: THE "JOSEPH" TETRALOGY.** 4 novels in 1 vol. —1,200 pp. *Retail $8.50.*

☐ **88. PARADE'S END** *by Ford Madox Ford.* [4 novels in 1 vol., unabridged.] "A major classic of this century." [836 pp.] *Retail $7.50.*

☐ **933. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY: A Modern Selection** from the most famous and most wittily personal dictionary of all time. *A delight to read and browse. Retail $6.50.*

☐ **265. A JOHNSON READER.** The timeless works of Samuel Johnson, including previously unpublished letters. Displays the roisterous Doctor at his crusty best. *Retail $6.50.*

☐ **207. THE CRADLE OF EROTICA.** A close scrutiny of the sexual mores of Afro-Asian peoples as evidenced in their own literature [which is copiously quoted]. Sheds new light on the meaning of "normal" vs. "abnormal." *Retail $9.50.*

THE WAPSHOT "SAGA"

☐ **262. THE WAPSHOT SCANDAL** *and* **THE WAPSHOT CHRONICLE** *by John Cheever.* [2-book set; *counts as one book under this offer.*] *Combined Retail $9.90.*

☐ **255. THE THREE SIRENS** *by Irving Wallace. Retail $5.95.*

☐ **161. THE DECLINE OF THE WEST** *by Oswald Spengler. Retail $6.95*

☐ **254. SUNSET AND TWILIGHT:** *Diaries of Bernard Berenson.* Illus. *Retail $8.75.*

☐ **259. THE LETTERS OF F. SCOTT FITZGERALD** [615 pp., Illus.] *edited by A. Turnbull. Retail $10.00.*

SEND NO MONEY

REQUEST FORM

R-63

Mail to: The Mid-Century Book Society, 115 East 31st Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Enroll me as a trial member and send me the 3 FREE BOOKS indicated below—charging me only for the one or more other books ordered at the *special new-member price* of only $2.95 each.

My only obligation is to buy two future selections during the coming year from the 100 or more to be offered at average savings of 50% under the publishers' retail prices. Over and above outright *Discounts,* I am to receive at least one *$2.50 Bonus Book Voucher* with each book purchased.

[PLEASE INDICATE YOUR CHOICES BELOW BY NUMBER.]

I. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTIONS FREE — with New-Member Purchase(s) at right.

II. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTION(S) AT SPECIAL NEW-MEMBER'S PRICE ($2.95).

Name _____

Address _____ City _____ Zone _____ State _____

REPRODUCED 2004 BY HUNT.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nat Hentoff

"is a versatile, passionately involved, and wide-ranging social critic of our quality and style of life, moral and artistic." —*Newsweek*

"In the current deluge of 'civil rights' literature, this excellent book . . . is one of the few to put 'the movement' in a broader context, to deal in recommendations as well as jeremiads. . . . Hentoff is dispassionate and detached. He thus makes his hard-nosed analysis the more persuasive, and his message the more urgent."
—MARTIN B. DUBERMAN, *Book Week*

THE NEW EQUALITY

VIKING $4.95

A PROGRAM FOR THE "EDUCATED". . .
on vital issues of today offered to you by

The INTERNATIONAL STUDY AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, Inc.

with
ALISTAIR COOKE
ROBERT J. ALEXANDER
ARNO G. HUTH
HERBERT PASSIN
JOHN G. STOESSINGER
and other well-known scholars, economists, ranking diplomats, and business leaders.

The Fall Term begins on October 1st.

For free catalog and registration information write to:

DR. ARNO HUTH, EXEC. DIRECTOR
INTERNATIONAL STUDY AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
41 CENTRAL PARK WEST,
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023 (TR 7-8628)

turned out that each said the preceding spokesman was "not leadership, not truly representative."

I am still waiting for Negro leadership that has the support of our Negro residents to speak up and to identify themselves. My door and that of the city manager are open.

This administration has been in office only since January, 1962. For Mrs. Mitchell or anyone else to expect City Hall to eliminate since that time the underlying causes of Negro unemployment, poor housing, education, health, and a myriad of other social, economic, and similar problems is grossly unfair. Despite our short tenure, you should be informed that we have made rapid strides in these areas.

We would like Miss Carter to return when I and others are not so worn out from days and nights on end without sleep. We'd like her and your readers to know the real temper of this community and of the sincere desire of its citizens and government to make Rochesterians of all races, creeds, and colors feel at home.

FRANK T. LAMB, Mayor
Rochester, New York

GOOD RIDDANCE

To the Editor: The title of your admirable and perceptive editorial "The Runaway Republicans" (*The Reporter*, August 13) reminds one of the frustrated small boy who runs away from home, to give vent to his dissatisfactions boiling within, only to return later, wiser for his painful experience. The editorial analyzes incisively the weaknesses in the position of Goldwater, this "eighteenth century radical."

If, as many of us expect, Goldwater is soundly beaten in November, his candidacy will have conferred a real benefit on the Democratic Party. It should entice from that party the traditional-thinking, segregationist-conservative element in the South who are leaving it for a home in the Republican Party, where they truly belong. Relieved of them, the Democratic Party should grow into a united party of the people.

BENJAMIN H. KIZER
Spokane, Washington

POINT OF ORDER

To the Editor: While I do not agree with every specific set of circumstances presented or every conclusion drawn by John Farmer in "The Rise and Fall of Jersey City" (*The Reporter*, August 13) I feel he has done a fair and basically accurate job in picturing a political and governmental situation of extreme complexity.

My major point of disagreement is with the title. I think "The Fall and Rise of Jersey City" might have been more accurate, since I believe the city definitely is on its way up again. The public is more active in government than ever before, and the government—now operating under a new form—is certainly more responsive to public need than ever before.

Trying to build for the future in an old city while sustaining yourself in the day-to-day operations is something like repairing a car with the motor running. It's difficult, but it can be done, and we think it is being done here now.

THOMAS J. WHELAN, Mayor
Jersey City

FAIR COMMENT

To the Editor: We are grateful for the succinct and carefully thought-out comments made by Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht in "God and Man at Flushing Meadow" (*The Reporter*, August 13), and I would appreciate your conveying our thanks to her.

HOBSON F. MILLER, Chairman
Christian Science Pavilion

To the Editor: I have read the snide piece entitled "God and Man at Flushing Meadow" and have no comment to make. Such as it is, it speaks for itself.

ROBERT MOSES, President
New York World's Fair
1964-1965 Corporation

AIDING LATIN DEMOCRACY

To the Editor: Rómulo Betancourt's "The Venezuelan Miracle" (*The Reporter*, August 13) is sufficiently clear and direct to convince the reader of the justice of the measures taken in Washington on July 26 by the Ninth Council of OAS foreign ministers.

Furthermore, it contains a salutary warning for all the countries of the continent about what could happen if they relax their guard against the penetration of Castro-Communism.

Democracy is not and cannot be a system of violence, but rather of social equilibrium; and all that may disrupt this equilibrium ought to produce the same alarm as it aroused in President Betancourt and call for the same drastic measures as those taken by him. This is true whether the country is as large as the United States or as small as mine, the Dominican Republic. This is why we have given Venezuela our full support.

DR. JOSE ANTONIO BONILLA ATILES
Dominican Ambassador
Washington

To the Editor: I read with interest former President Betancourt's report of the recent Venezuelan fight against subversion promoted by outside and inside agitators. Nobody could make a more authoritative report on such a matter, as you are certainly aware of, and every freedom-loving man is happy to see the report ending with the affirmation of democracy in Venezuela. *The Reporter* is to be commended for making such a report available to its many readers.

JURACY MAGALHAES
Brazilian Ambassador
Washington

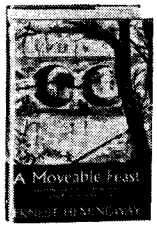
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CATCH UP ON GOOD BOOKS

you have promised yourself to read

THROUGH A SHORT EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB

ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED



625. A MOVEABLE FEAST *by* ERNEST HEMINGWAY. Illus. (Retail price $4.95)

ANY THREE for only $1

THE TRIAL: SIMPLY BUY THREE ADDITIONAL BOOKS FROM THE CLUB DURING THE NEXT YEAR

629. GIDEON'S TRUMPET *by* ANTHONY LEWIS (Retail price $4.95)

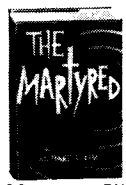
627. AMERICANS ON EVEREST *by* JAMES RAMSEY ULLMAN. Illustrated (Retail price $8.95)

597. THE VENETIAN AFFAIR *by* HELEN MACINNES. (Retail price $5.95)

617. THE WAPSHOT SCANDAL *by* JOHN CHEEVER. (Retail price $4.95)

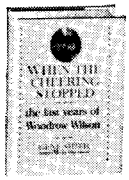
431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH *by* WILLIAM L. SHIRER. (Retail price $10)

615. VON RYAN'S EXPRESS *by* DAVID WESTHEIMER. (Retail price $4.95)

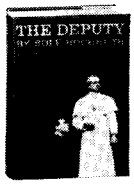


618. THE MARTYRED *by* RICHARD E. KIM (Retail price $4.50)

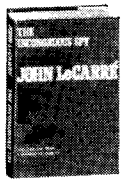
630. TOM JONES *by* HENRY FIELDING Illustrated *by* LAWRENCE BEALL SMITH (Retail price $7.50)



614. WHEN THE CHEERING STOPPED *by* GENE SMITH Illustrated. (Retail price $5.95)



623. THE DEPUTY *by* ROLF HOCHHUTH (Retail price $5.95)



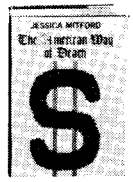
620. THE INCONGRUOUS SPY 2 novels *by* JOHN LE CARRÉ. (Retail price $5.95)

626. ASSIGNMENT: SUSPENSE. 3 novels *by* HELEN MACINNES (Retail price $5.75)

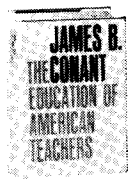
628. THE RAYMOND CHANDLER OMNIBUS. 4 novels (Retail price $5.95)

605. PT-109: JOHN F. KENNEDY IN WORLD WAR II *by* ROBERT J. DONOVAN Illustrated. (Retail price $4.95)

467. THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT—1960 *by* THEODORE H. WHITE (Retail price $6.95)



607. THE AMERICAN WAY OF DEATH *by* JESSICA MITFORD. (Retail price $4.95)



602. THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN TEACHERS *by* JAMES B. CONANT (Retail price $5)

596. RASCAL *by* STERLING NORTH Illustrated. (Retail price $3.95)

584. CARAVANS *by* JAMES A. MICHENER. (Retail price $5.95)

575. THE TIN DRUM *by* GUENTER GRASS (Retail price $6.95)

570. IN THE CLEARING *by* ROBERT FROST. (Retail price $4)

563. FAIL-SAFE *by* EUGENE BURDICK *and* HARVEY WHEELER. (Ret. price $4.95)

553. TRAVELS WITH CHARLEY *by* JOHN STEINBECK (Retail price $4.95)

487. THE SHORT STORIES OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY (Retail price $6)

THE MOST ECONOMICAL LIBRARY-BUILDING SYSTEM EVER DEVISED: BOOK-DIVIDENDS

THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will not only prove, *by your own actual experience*, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club can keep you from missing, through oversight or overbusyness, books you fully intend to read; it will also demonstrate another equally important advantage enjoyed by members: Book-Dividends. Through this unique profit-sharing system Book-of-the-Month Club members can regularly receive valuable library volumes—at a small fraction of their price—simply by buying books they would buy anyway.

✶ **During this experimental membership and thereafter, if you continue,** you will receive, *with every Club choice you buy*, a Book-Dividend Certificate. Each Certificate, together with a nominal sum, usually $1.00 or $1.50 a volume—occasionally more for unusually expensive works—can be redeemed for a Book-Dividend which you may choose from a catalog listing over a hundred fine library volumes. Since the inauguration of the Club's Book-Dividend system over $296,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been received by Club members through this unique plan.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, Inc. A157-9-1
345 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the three volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all three volumes. I agree to purchase at least three additional monthly Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member. I have the right to cancel my membership any time after buying these three books. During the trial and thereafter, if I continue, I am to receive a Book-Dividend Certificate with every Selection—or Alternate—I buy under the system described at left. (A small charge is added to all book shipments to cover postage and mailing expense.)

PLEASE NOTE: Occasionally the Club offers a Double Selection, two books at *a special combined price*. Such purchases are counted as a single book in fulfilling the membership obligation.

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE THREE BOOKS YOU WANT

☐ ☐ ☐

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....
(Please print plainly)

Address.....

City.....*Zone*.....*State*..... 4-26

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *and* BOOK-DIVIDEND *are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UMI.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARBORO GIFT

4319. ROMANS WITHOUT LAURELS. By I. Montanelli. Irreverent, witty narrative of Rome's rise and fall, presenting the all too-human side of the Imperial heroes—Caesar, Tacitus, Pliny, Nero, Marcus Aurelius and more—their crimes, wars, extravagances, moral disintegration and final eclipse. *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.98**

2583. TREASURY OF PHILOSOPHY. By D.D. Runes. Nearly *1,300* pages covering the whole span of recorded philosophical thought and writing. Each selection begins with a biographical sketch of the philosopher. Nearly 400 great thinkers, both Oriental and Western, many not accessible in any other collection. *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4336. SEXUAL BEHAVIOR, PSYCHO-LEGAL ASPECTS. By F.S. Caprio, MD and D.R. Brenner, LLB. Incest, prostitution, homosexuality, lesbianism, exhibitionism, rape, pedophilia, transvestism, abortion and sadomasochism are some of the topics treated in this first study combining the knowledge and experience of a psychiatrist and a lawyer. Many case histories. *Orig. $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

3949. HAWAII: Island of Enchantment. The perfect armchair guide to the beauties of our 50th State—a tour personally conducted by Arthur Godfrey on a *7" Extended Play Record,* with an illuminating text, 50 monochrome illus., and *32 vivid color-slides.* *Orig. $3.95.* *Only* **1.00**

P-364. Picasso: HEAD OF A YOUNG WOMAN. Classic proportions and serene beauty make this Head of a Young Woman a modern Demeter—silkscreen of a charcoal drawing in burnt sienna, grays, blacks and tans. 17½" wide x 23¾" high. *Special* **2.98**

4374. THE LITERARY GOURMET. Ed. by Linda Wolfe. All the history and pleasure of wonderful food through the ages—the delights of savoring, with recipes of Master Chefs, menus and anecdotes about food by great writers, and many little known facts about the Art of Cooking from many times and countries. Illus; 7½" x 10¼". *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **5.95**

4372. THE WESTERN: From Silents to Cinerama. By G. N. Fenin & Wm. K. Everson. Over 200 photos in this lavishly illustrated full story of the Western movie, its sources in Western folklore—all the great films from GREAT TRAIN ROBBERY to HIGH NOON—all the great stars from William S. Hart to John Wayne. *Over 200 photos.* *Orig. $12.50.* *New Complete Edition* **3.95**

4481. THE WORK OF GRAHAM SUTHERLAND. By Douglas Cooper. 174 splendid black and white reproductions plus 15 in full color implement this lucid, full-length critical and biographical study of one of England's most distinguished and most original contemporary artists. A magnificent 9½" x 11¼" volume with bibliography and index. *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **3.98**

4098. FEMALE HOMOSEXUALITY: A Psychodynamic Study of Lesbianism. By Frank Caprio, MD. The only study of lesbianism and lesbian practices in practically every part of the world—reviewing the history, development, literature, psychoanalytic theories and pathology, the lesbian personality and dream life, and the clinical data derived from hundreds of interviews, with a special section of lesbian autobiographical confessions. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4391. JOHN ADAMS: 1735-1826. By Page Smith. The truly monumental 2-volume biography of our second President, based upon the huge, newly-released treasury of his papers, and some of the saltiest diaries ever written—the age and the spirit, Adam's often stormy relations with Jefferson, Franklin and Washington, his profound political theories, the full story of his marriage to the extraordinary Abigail—astounding insights into little known areas of early Americana. *1,170 pages. 32 illus; 2 vols. in slipcase. Orig. $14.50.* *Only* **3.98**

4327. THE PLAGUE AND THE FIRE. By James Leasor. London: 1665/1666 and the dread cries of "Bring out your dead!"—a stunning documentary account of the horror and devastation that swept across London with the dread plague, and of the holocaust that leveled the city a year later—eyewitness reports and documents never before collected. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.00**

4291. CURTAINS. By Kenneth Tynan. The most brilliant theatre critic since GBS, star of *The Observer* and *The New Yorker*—reviews the plays, players and outstanding theatre events from 1950-1960—every event from Shakespeare to Tennessee Williams, from the angry young men to *Gypsy*—colorful, intimate, controversial essays written from loge and dressing-room in England, U.S., France, Germany and Russia. 504 pages. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **1.98**

4240. BRAQUE: An American Tribute. Ed. by John Richardson. This little-known volume covers what was probably *the greatest Braque exhibition ever held*—190 of his works: 33 fine examples from his period of Fauvism and Cubism; 39 works from the Twenties; 50 oils from the Thirties; 40 oils, drawings and pasted papers from his Last Years; and 28 sculptures. 191 illus,—8 in full color 8½" x 11"; softbound. *Orig. $3.00.* *Only* **1.00**

4245. THE PICTURE UNIVERSE: 25th Anniversary, U.S. Camera 1961. Ed. by Tom Maloney. This is 25 years of U.S. Camera's FINEST PHOTOS—Lieberman's photo essays on Picasso, Leger, Matisse, etc.; Garnett's aerial work; Schulthess' 6-page fold-out panorama of the 11 Swiss cantons *in color;* portfolios by Eisenstaedt, Klein and Penn; figure studies, high fashion, news, war. 450 photos. 8½" x 11¼". *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **2.98**

4251. BAWDY SONGS AND BACKROOM BALLADS. Sel. by Oscar Brand. Plenty of ribald high spirits in this collection of 42 of America's best unlaundered ballads—such favorites as *The Red Light Saloon, No Hips At All, Roll Your Leg Over,* and *The Winnipeg Whore*—complete music and lyrics arr. for piano, guitar and voice. *Profusely illus.,* 8½" x 12". *Orig. $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

3820. THE BOOK OF VOLCANOES. By Haroun Tazieff. Here are the mysteries of the seething earth, by an eminent scientist who combines the need for knowledge and the quest for beauty—a handsomely bound volume, *60 illus., 12 in full color,* of photos, old prints, etchings and engravings. *Orig. $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

P-363. Picasso: HEAD OF A YOUNG MAN. Finely modelled features of a young man, rendered with a skill that rivals the classic canons of ancient Greek beauty — silkscreen of a charcoal drawing, in pinks, blacks, cool grays and tans. 17½" wide x 23¾" high. *Special* **2.98**

4039. ATLAS OF THE UNIVERSE. By Br. Ernst and Tj. E. de Vries. Large, magnificent reference work for non-specialists—400 astounding photos, diagrams and star charts; text in the form of an alphabetical encyclopedia, with simple, concise explanations of astronomical phenomena, from classical theories to the latest in astro-photography—*the best modern knowledge at your fingertips. 400 illus.,* 7½" x 10½". *Orig. $9.95.* *Only* **2.98**

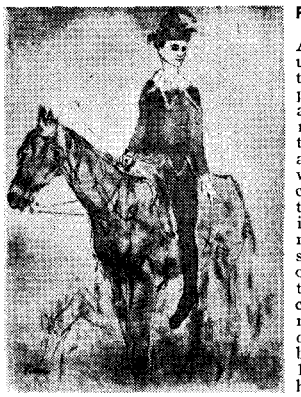
3718. MARY McCARTHY'S THEATRE CHRONICLES 1937-1962. Dissecting everyone from Graham Greene and O'Neill to Tennessee Williams, her uncompromising criticism makes these essays immediate, fresh and vital. *Orig. $4.50.* *Only* **1.98**

4218. Land of Antiquity: GREECE—People, Places, Culture. A sparkling, unforgettable colorslide tour of enticing, eternal Greece—that just might lift you out of your armchair and into a trans-Atlantic flight—tour narrated by Vincent Price on a *7" Extended Play Record,* with vivid text, 53 monochrome illus. and *32 exciting full-color slides.* 8¼" x 11¼". *Orig. $3.95.* *Only* **1.00**

4135. FORT PHIL KEARNY: An American Saga. By Dee Brown. How the west was won and sometimes Lost—the story of ill-fated Fort Phil Kearny in Wyoming, the Sioux-Cheyenne-Arapaho 3000-warrior uprising under Red Cloud and the bloody Fetterman massacre — based upon first-hand accounts, on army records and detailing the political battle between the War and Interior Depts. Illus. *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.49**

4253. Man Ray: SELF PORTRAIT. The man who lived and pioneered Dadaism and Surrealism—expatriate and bohemian in New York, Hollywood and Paris—his free-wheeling times with Picasso, Dali, Duchamp, his mistress Kiki and other liasons—the candid hilarious story of art and bedroom life in the mad, whirling Twenties. *36 illus. of his famous photos and paintings.* *Orig. $7.95.* *Only* **1.98**

3476. THE LIFE OF RADCLYFFE HALL. By Una, Lady Troubridge. Revealing, thought-compelling biography of the author of *The Well of Loneliness,* by the woman who loved and lived with her for 30 years. Photos. *Orig. $4.00.* *Only* **1.00**



P-362. Picasso: CHEVAL. A strong, unique work, truly contemporary in mood and style—yet retaining a timeless flavor as if Picasso were sifting centuries for this one boy, in this one moment—silkscreen of an oil painting, the boy in red costume against muted shades of pinks, grays, blacks and tans. 18" wide x 26" high. *Special* **2.98**

4040. A DICTIONARY OF SYMBOLS. By J. E. Cirlot; preface by Herbert Read. The first reference work to provide a central source for symbological studies, *with the essential, unvarying meaning of every symbol known to Oriental and Western man*—everything from Abracadabra and Gemini to the Tarot, Mandala and Yang-Yin. 32 halftone plates, 49 line drawings. *Orig. $12.00.* *Only* **4.98**

4146. Hero of Five Wars: KEARNY THE MAGNIFICENT. By Irving Werstein. The heroic story of flamboyant, daring Gen. Philip Kearny who, with one arm, rode at the head of his troops with sabre on high and reins in his teeth—hero on the Western frontier, in the French Foreign Legion, the Mexican War, in the American Civil War. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.00**

4045. THE ROTHSCHILDS. By Frederick Morton. The best-selling story of the fantastic Rothschild empire—Baron Lionel's loans to the British Empire (nearly $25,000 million), Baron Louis who faced down Himmler in a Gestapo cell, and Anthony who rode the subway to beat the bankers to exploitations rights on 50,000 square miles in Canada. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

3958. CASSINO: Portrait of a Battle. By Fred Majdalany. The battle for Monte Cassino—in all its prolonged agony and tragedy—the long winter of military deadlock studied from the highest strategic level down to the individual soldiers. 28 photos, 9 maps. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.00**

3910. WOMAN IN THE SEXUAL RELATION. By H. H. Ploss et al. Through all recorded time, from every continent on earth—a complete, uncensored ethnographic survey of every known historical, psychological and anthropological occurance in the sex-life of WOMAN, no matter how bizarre, wild or erotic. Illus. 8½" x 11". *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **7.95**

8604. KAETHE KOLLWITZ DRAWINGS. By Herbert Bittner. More than 150 plates. Considered by many the greatest woman artist the world has ever known. These are her superbly rendered drawings, with eloquent text that explains her sensitivity and creative process. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **4.95**

REPRODUCED BY NYPL
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK BARGAINS $1 AND UP

4148. THE MADISON AVENUE COOKBOOK for People Who Can't Cook and Don't Want Other People To Know It. By Alan Koehler. Delightful, succulent recipes that will *prove* you can cook (when you really can't), including dishes such as "Baked Beans 'Durstine & Osborn'" and "Sole of Deception 'FTC'." Illus. *Orig. $2.95.* *Only* **1.00**

4498. CITY OF NIGHT. By John Rechy. A searing, best-selling novel about a male prostitute, that searches out the heart of a life little-known and less understood and, at the same time spotlights the hidden worlds within six major American metropolises. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

3913. EROS: An Anthology of Male Friendship. Ed. by Patrick Anderson and Alistair Sutherland. A collection of prose and verse from the world's finest writers on the subject of homosexual love and friendship—from the grave "amor" of Cicero and the lay-about amours of Petronius, to the rich passages of Huysmans, Gide, Mann, Whitman and Crane. 433 pages. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **3.88**

3906. FRANK HARRIS: The Life and Loves of a Scoundrel. By Vincent Brome. Vivid and lively biography of one of the most flamboyant and puzzling literary personalities of the last hundred years —Frank Harris: sexual athlete, banned author, playwright, and friend of GBS, H. G. Wells, Max Beerbohm and Oscar Wilde. Illus. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

3916. THE HOMOSEXUAL AND HIS SOCIETY: A View From Within. By Donald Webster Cory and J. P. LeRoy. Vivid description and shrewd analysis of the various types of homosexuals—from the muscle-bound body builders to the mincing "queens" — including their hangouts: bars, beaches, steam baths and their growing political influence. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **2.98**

3825. John O'Hara: THE BIG LAUGH. A fine novel about a stage actor who reached the heights of Hollywood stardom, his chicanery, his ruthless maneuvering, and his ultimate, catastrophic self-confusion and destruction. *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.00**

P-361. Picasso: MOTHER WITH CHILD. Picasso's masterful skill in the strong, definitive line is unparalleled in this fine sensitively rendered idyll of Mother and Child—silkscreen after an oil sketch in pinks, with muted grays, blacks and tans. 21½" wide x 27½" high. *Special* **2.98**

3772. LOVE IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By Bengt Danielsson. Complete, accurate account of the family and sex life of the Polynesians, from the 18th century to the present—all the customs, practices and attitudes including polygamy, free love and religion—by the Kon-tiki expedition anthropologist. Unusual photos. *Orig. $4.00.* *Only* **1.98**

3786. AN ABZ OF LOVE. By Inge & Sten Hegeler. This is *not a book for beginners*—it is written by a Danish married couple, both doctors, both psychologists, both writers, written in blunt, non-technical language and illustrated with candor—*it is what it purports to be, an important book on Sex and enlightening guide to a complete and happier sex life*—it stormed the best-seller lists in Denmark, Sweden and Holland and has reached over 1,000,000 readers. 120 illus. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **7.49**

3683. THE FACE OF LONDON. By Harold P. Clunn. An all-embracing encyclopedia of everything about London today—arranged in the form of walks and motor drives—includes the outlying districts and extensive index. 209 illus., 630 pages. *Special import* **1.98**

3311. THE GREAT SEA WAR: The Dramatic Story of Naval Action in W.W. II. Ed. by E. B. Potter & Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz. Authoritative accounts of all naval action of all nations involved in WW II from the invasion of Poland in 1939 through Japan's surrender in Tokyo Bay. Illus. *Orig. $7.95.* *New complete edition* **2.98**

3204. PICTURES FROM A MEDIEVAL BIBLE. Commentary by James Strachan. 102 woodcuts from the great Cologne Bible of 1478-1480—recapturing the breathless presence of the Bible's dramatis personae. *Orig. $3.50.* *Only* **1.00**

1353. *A Pictorial Treasury*—THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM. *A magnificent edition of one of* the great treasures of world literature, *exquisitely illustrated in full color* by the noted Persian artist Sarkis Katchadourian. Printed on genuine rag paper, beautifully bound. 7" x 10". *Special* **1.98**

3007. Cecil Beaton: THE WANDERING YEARS 1922-1939. The Beaton Diaries, with personal sketches drawn in acid strokes of such great personalities as Dame Edith Sitwell, Marion Davies and Irving Berlin—a fascinating and disarming book, one of the most unusual memoirs of our time. Illus. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.00**

4180. Sir Richard F. Burton: THE PERFUMED GARDEN of the Shaykh Nefzawi. An uncommon masterpiece of delicacy, discretion and refinement (with hilarious stories)—The Arabian Manual of Love, fully the equal of the Hindu Kama Sutra—recounting all the love practices, sensual delights and postures known to the very knowledgeable 16th century Shaykh Nefzawi—in the classic translation of Sir Richard Burton, translator of the *Arabian Nights.* Hardbound. *Special* **1.00**

2134. GREEK MYTHOLOGY. By Felix Guirand. All the tempestuous loves, the bloody unrelenting battles, the devastating intrigues of gods, goddesses, mortals, valiant heroes and abducted maidens—the Golden Age lives in the mighty names of Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite, Helen, Hercules and Minos. Over 200 illus., 24 in vivid full-color, 8¼" x 11¼". *Special Import* **2.98**

3915. DICTIONARY OF WINES, SPIRITS AND LIQUEURS. By Andre Simon. Identification and description of all wines, spirits and liqueurs, the places where they are produced and their qualities —by the president of the Wine and Food Society and a renowned gourmet. *Orig. $4.00.* *Only* **1.49**

2488. RIVERS IN THE DESERT: A History of the Negev. By Nelson Glueck. Solomon's copper mines. Moses' travels, David's fortresses—the fascinating story of the Israeli desert by an eminent archaeologist. 55 illus., maps, 6½" x 10", softbound. *Orig. $3.95.* *Only* **1.98**

2573. Heroes, Gods, and Men: MYTHS OF THE HERO. By Norma Lorre Goodrich. Myths and tales of courage, heroes wrestling with gods, men and monsters—Beowulf and Grendel, Siegfried and Fafnir, Gilgamesh, The Cid, and many others—beautifully bound with 105 illus., in color and black and white, 415 pages. *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **3.95**

4337. Andre Malraux: THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE GODS. Transl. by Stuart Gilbert. Magnificent sequel and extension of Malraux's classic *The Voices of Silence*—profusely illustrated in gravure —the story in art and thought of man's ceaseless struggle to impose his image upon the Absolute, through the civilizations of Greece and Europe to the moment in the Renaissance when the artist's "idol" became a work of art placed beside the vision of God. *183 gravure illus., with 31 in full color, 8 sepias and 4 double-page fold-outs; 400 pages. Orig. $20.00.* *Only* **12.49**

2664. TOM JONES. By Henry Fielding. The first great classic of the English novel and still the most robust. A big 770-page volume with many illustrations by G. Spencer Pryse. *Special* **1.49**

2016. PICTORIAL HISTORY OF MORALS. Ed. by Harry E. Wedeck. A candid survey, in words and over 200 illustrations, of mankind's sexual conduct through the ages, depicting every culture's attitude: Primitive Man, the Orient, Great Lovers in History, Homosexuality, Prostitution, Exhibitionism, Sadism, Polygamy, etc. *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **5.95**

3666. THE ORDEAL OF POWER: A Political Memoir of the Eisenhower Years. By Emmet John Hughes. An exciting political portrait of Ike, the men around him and the major events from Little Rock to Suez, from the Geneva Conference to Sputnik and the U-2 crisis. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.00**

6293. Sartre: BEING AND NOTHINGNESS. Transl. & intro. by Hazel E. Barnes. Jean-Paul Sartre's *magnum opus,* a *sine qua non* for understanding Existentialism and its importance as one of the leading philosophical movements of our time. Over 700 pp. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

marboro **Dept. R-101, 131 Varick St., New York, N.Y. 10013**

Please send me postage prepaid, the bargains circled below. (Please add 25¢ postage and handling on all orders under $5.00).

☐ Ship C.O.D.* ☐ Enclosed find # _____

☐ Charge my Diners' Club Account # _____

☐ Charge my American Express Account # _____

} Limited to orders of $5.00 or more

1353 2016 2134 2488 2573 2583 2664 3007 3204 3311 3476 3666 3683 3718 3772
3786 3820 3825 3906 3910 3913 3915 3916 3949 3958 4039 4040 4045 4098 4135
4146 4148 4180 4218 4240 4245 4251 4253 4291 4319 4327 4336 4337 4372 4374
4391 4481 4498 6293 8604
P361 P362 P363 P364

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

☐ **Check here if you receive our monthly bargain circular**

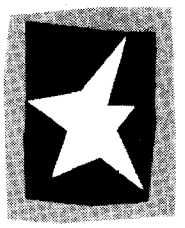
New York City residents add 4% sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D.
Add 25¢ per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions.
10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP

NEW YORK: 47 W. 42 St. • 56 W. 8 St. • 144 W. 57 St. • 8 E. 59 St.
PHILADELPHIA: 1614 Walnut St. • King of Prussia Plaza (Rts 202, 23)
CINCINNATI: 516 Vine St. (near Fountain Square)
MIAMI: 86 Miracle Mile, Coral Gables
LOS ANGELES: 21616 Sherman Way, Canoga Park • 932 Broxton Ave., Westwood

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHRISTMAS CARDS FOR TODAY
from
THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART



These cards celebrate the holiday season through the art of our own time. In previous years, they have been announced only to Members of the Museum and sold at its own bookstore. This year, some new cards reproduce favorite works in the Museum Collection, while others have been specially commissioned from contemporary artists including Anuszkiewicz, Bolotowsky, Chermayeff, Frasconi, and Migdoll. They range in price from a 5¢ photograph of Henry Moore's Family Group *to a $1.00 cardboard construction by Mon Levinson (issued in a limited edition, and actually as much a Christmas gift as a Christmas card). The Museum's Christmas brochure describes and illustrates the cards; also includes information on other Museum publications and a special Christmas gift membership form. The 25¢ price will be deducted from any order amounting to over $5.00.*

The Museum of Modern Art 1
2799 Grand Central Station, New York 10017
I enclose 25¢ for the 1964 Christmas brochure.

Name

Address

Harper's *magazine*
SEPTEMBER

THE MINDS OF BARRY GOLDWATER
by Richard H. Rovere

Folksy platitudes on the hustings . . . but fiery polemics in print; massive federal power abroad . . . but fifty sovereign states at home; a constitution that means what it says . . . even when it doesn't say what it means. An erroneous record . . . or two different men?

ON YOUR NEWSSTAND NOW!

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Atlantic City

Even the breathless quality of the prose could not disguise the nature of the news being disseminated in Atlantic City. "FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE," a newly distributed document would read. "Keynoting a national convention has been a step along the road to national acclaim for many Democrats"; "FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: An elevated rostrum to accommodate the height of all speakers has been constructed . . . ."; "FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Almost every one of the approximately five thousand spectators will have a good seat . . . ." Like that poor old proverbial chicken who lost its head, the Democratic national convention rushed about its business with meticulous attention to all the forms and habits of live conventioneering. There was the mammoth intrusion of TV and its apparatus—its microphones waggling in the faces of county chairmen who had nothing to say, its backside blocking the view in Convention Hall, its idiom unchanged despite all the "non-events" it was recording. (In portentous voice, one network interrupted itself with a bulletin to the effect that one or the other of President Johnson's daughters had just rescheduled her airline flight.) There were the crowded hotel corridors, the hotly peddled rumors, the nervousness of thousands of persons wondering where the center of activity was. And above all, there was the indignity and discomfort traditionally endured by those who attend national party conventions. In this last respect, the Democrats will not be able to surpass Atlantic City unless they hold their next convention on a ferris wheel.

The late Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn used to define party conventions as a lot of people going around asking one another what was happening. In Atlantic City most often the answer was Nothing—and there were obvious reasons why this was so. One was that the Republicans, by virtue of their performance in San Francisco, had all but written the script for the Democratic convention in advance. It required unity and good humor in its proceedings, an absence of contention and shrillness, a platform whose authors were perfectly amenable to incorporating Nelson Rockefeller's discarded amendments from San Francisco but who also attempted to be reassuring by the very unspectacularness of their views. Political wisdom dictated that there be but one answer in Atlantic City to that old convention-hall teaser—"Is *Everybody Happy?*"

Lyndon Johnson saw to it that practically everybody was. Among the more remarkable features of the convention that nominated Hubert Humphrey as its Vice-Presidential candidate, that seated two members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and that called for enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was the scantiness of the Southern walkout and the comparative calm of the Southerners as a whole. By means of staff emissaries and certain delegates such as Governor John B. Connally of Texas, the President managed to stay in communication with the Southern delegations and to work some of his customary wonders in bringing about his objectives. Unobtrusive though they were, there was never any question that the White House representatives, whether on the convention floor, at a post behind the rostrum, or in their motel-headquarters, were in control of daily events. Reportedly, almost all of the speeches delivered in Atlantic City had been, if not actually written, at least cleared and cleaned up by persons acting in the President's name. Reportedly too, this practice spared the rest of us from

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The real "Economic Miracle" of Germany began with the Marshall Plan

"The fight against hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance, which is being waged by millions of people all over the world, is one of the greatest challenges of our century . . . For some years now, the Federal Republic of Germany has been devoting itself to the task which falls to it in the framework of these joint efforts . . ."

HEINRICH LÜBKE *Federal President*

Based on that Experience, the Federal Republic of Germany Established Its Own Aid Program for the Developing Countries

The Marshall Plan implemented in a practical way the teaching of moral leaders through the centuries. It gave vigorous expression to the concept of our responsibility for the welfare of others in our own enlightened self-interest. While half the human race lives in poverty, the ideals of freedom cannot be realized.

For this reason the Federal Republic of Germany established its own aid program in 1950. From small beginnings, this effort has grown during the past thirteen years until it ranks in size and scope with the three or four leading programs of other Free World nations. To the end of 1963, Germany had provided for such purposes nearly 23 billion D-marks (almost 6 billion dollars U.S.). Of this sum, 12.8 billion D-marks came from public funds; 10.06 billion D-marks from private sources—as computed by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Most of it went into direct and indirect capital aid; technical assistance, industrial development and trade promotion.

"The quicker and more thoroughly we manage to help the people in the developing countries to attain a reasonable degree of prosperity and of social security and freedom, the more they will be interested in the human values which we profess and uphold . . ."

LUDWIG ERHARD *Federal Chancellor*

German Aid Goes to 83 Countries Worldwide

This aid program is not concentrated geographically in any area of special interest. Recent emphasis of the program has been on the development of human resources, in the form of education, training and technical assistance. Many thousands of foreign workers and students are currently acquiring skills in Germany which they will take back home with them, to pass on to others. Here, as in other kinds of development aid, Germany is doing its share to build a firm base for the growth of free institutions worldwide.

Ministry for Economic Cooperation FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The new catalogue of the famous Metropolitan Museum cards. This year a Madonna and Child by Fra Filippo Lippi, a golden Adoration of the Magi by a Flemish master, flowers by a French Impressionist, a Greek vase painting, a medieval enamel of Saint Michael and the dragon, a decoration of musical instruments from a Renaissance castle, a Rembrandt etching, a Colonial embroidery of birds in a cherry tree, and a Victorian skating party by Winslow Homer are among the more than fifty new designs. ☆ All of the cards are printed under the direct supervision of the Museum in limited editions and cost from 5 to 75 cents each. They can be bought ONLY by mail or at the Museum itself. Mail the coupon below, together with 25 cents, for the forty-page catalogue—which also illustrates Museum jewelry and other unusual Christmas presents.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
255 Gracie Station, New York 10028

Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed R5

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

some rather awkward imagery. In his original text, for instance, one major speaker is said to have described the President's accession to office as the reassuring moment when Lyndon Johnson "stepped into the void."

THE STRUGGLE over the seating of the two Mississippi delegations attracted the most attention, partly because it was the only uncontrollable event of the convention. Until a few weeks before the convention, it had been generally thought in Washington that the unaccredited Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's (MFDP) appearance would be more in the nature of a demonstration than a serious attempt to be seated. But when the California Democratic State Central Committee disregarded the advice of Governor Edmund G. Brown and went on record in mid-August favoring the accreditation of the MFDP, it became clear in Washington that there would have to be a compromise solution—one which might lose the convention some delegates from Mississippi and Alabama but which would not result in a mass Southern walkout. The solution originally proposed—requiring the regular delegates to take a loyalty oath, setting up a commission of inquiry, and seating the MFDP delegation as guests—fell far short of MFDP demands, and for about five days and nights in Atlantic City the participants held tense and often quarrelsome meetings trying to avoid both a walkout and a fight on the floor. They were, roughly, the MFDP delegates with their leaders, Aaron Henry and Edwin King, and their more militant members, such as Bob Moses; the national civil-rights leadership, including Martin Luther King; a subcommittee of the Credentials Committee named to find a solution; a caucus of Credentials Committee members who supported the MFDP; and the staff and liaison men of Senator Humphrey, who had been directed to restore peace to Atlantic City. Beyond all these interested parties there were others—White House staff, go-betweens such as Walter Reuther and James Rowe, and, of course, the President himself.

One of the going theories in Atlantic City was that the President's involvement of Humphrey in all this was one of many exactions made of the Minnesotan to earn the Vice-Presidential nomination. It was also in the air that if Humphrey failed, he would also fail of nomination. Whether or not these rumors and speculations were true, they were effective in curbing the ardor of some of the bitter-end delegates who were fearful of jeopardizing Humphrey's chances. As the conflict progressed, however, it became clear that there were persons on both sides whose aim was the prevention of a solution—Southerners who were looking for a reason to walk out (or better yet to be thrown out) and Negro demonstrators who had made it a point of policy to remain displeased and unsatisfied. In a meeting at a local church, the MFDP finally voted to reject the compromise agreement, which had been an extraordinary victory for them; and Bob Moses, who had earlier delivered an abusive attack on Humphrey, shouted down Martin Luther King when he tried to speak.

It was one of the ironies of Atlantic City that just about the first real convention news was misreported because of deadline time and widespread confusion. The solution was at first reported as a failure for Humphrey because it had been rejected by both sides. It was, on the contrary, a considerable success, both in terms of its substance and in terms of convention politics. On the first count it not only provided for the unexpected seating of two MFDP delegates-at-large with full accreditation but also set forth rules for the 1968 convention that all but outlawed the choosing of delegations on the basis of racial discrimination. On the second count, it satisfied enough of the pro-MFDP delegates to prevent a minority report and a floor fight.

The manner in which all this was achieved was highly reminiscent of the manner in which the Civil Rights Act was put through the Senate—particularly of the working relationship between the President and Humphrey. And in retrospect, despite all the drama and wild guessing, Humphrey's selection by

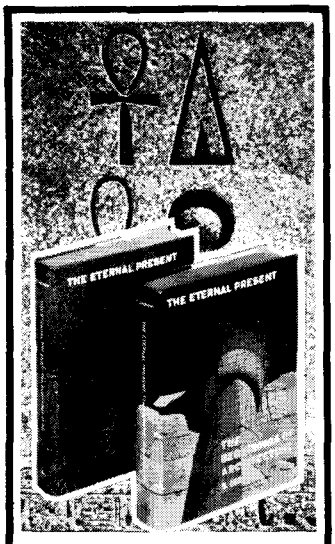
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Choose any one of these magnificent art books

FREE

WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION

COMBINED RETAIL VALUES UP TO $59.95

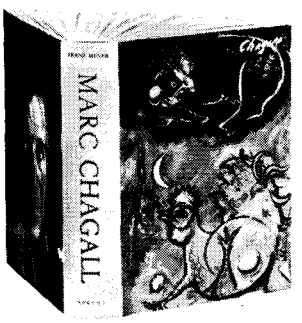


The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Art and **The Beginnings of Architecture,** Sigfried Giedion.

The most comprehensive work to date on prehistoric art and early architecture—by a foremost authority on the history and meaning of art. These widely hailed volumes are a *definitive, heavily illustrated inquiry* into the very roots of art and architecture, bringing to bear on early works contemporary findings from history, psychology, anthropology and archaeology.

Retail $25.00. Member's price $19.90.

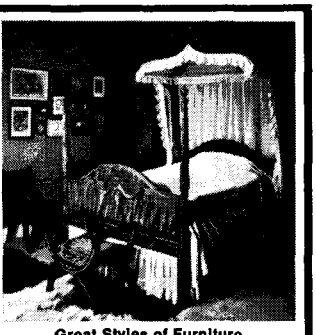
Art Nouveau, Robert Schmutzler. Retail $25.00. Member's price $18.95.



Marc Chagall, Franz Meyer. Retail $35.00. Member's price $19.95.

Ben Shahn: *Paintings and Graphic Art,* James Thrall Soby. 2 vols., boxed. Retail $25.00. Member's price $14.95.

Modern Sculpture, Jean Selz. Retail $17.50. Member's price $12.95.

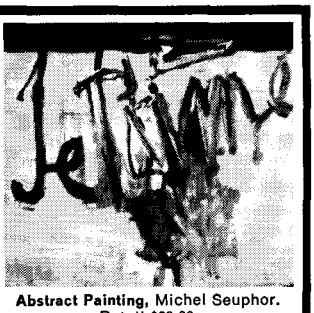


Great Styles of Furniture, Charles Vandam. Retail $22.50. Member's price $17.95.

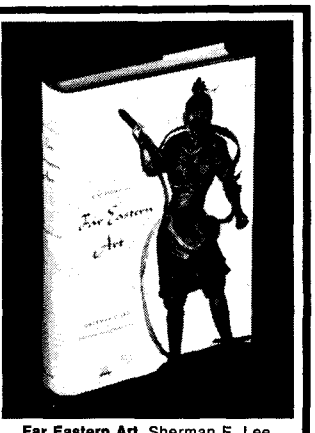
The Seven Arts Book Society

offers you the exceptional opportunity to build what André Malraux described as "a museum without walls" – to enrich your home with the finest books on the arts – and at substantial savings. The selections of The Seven Arts Books Society – like those illustrated here – are all books of permanent value: oversize, richly illustrated volumes with definitive texts. Moreover, as a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 33⅓% and more. Why not begin your trial membership today? Discover for yourself the great advantages of belonging to this unique organization. You may begin your membership with any one of the magnificent books shown here at the special member's price, and receive any other one (including several valuable sets) FREE, as an introductory gift.

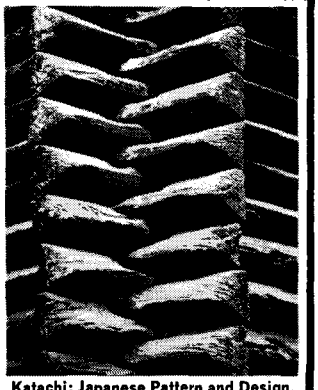
Rembrandt: *The Complete Etchings,* K. C. Boon. Retail $18.50. Member's price $13.50.



Abstract Painting, Michel Seuphor. Retail $20.00. Member's price $15.95.

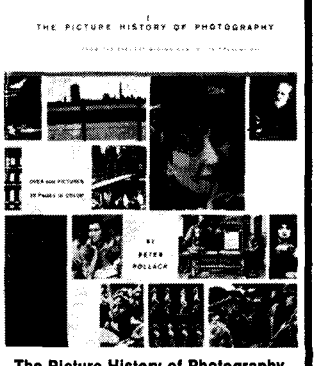


Far Eastern Art, Sherman E. Lee. Retail $25.00. Member's price $18.95.



Katachi: Japanese Pattern and Design, Takeji Iwamiya and Donald Richie. Retail $30. Member's price $19.95.

The Discovery of Painting, *René Berger. A comprehensive new* approach to the understanding of painting through history. Retail $25.00. Member's price $18.95.



The Picture History of Photography, Peter Pollack. Retail $20.00. Member's price $17.95.

The Seven Arts Book Society, Inc.

215 Park Avenue South, N. Y., N. Y. 10003

You may enroll and send me the *free book* of my choice with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates in the next 12 months, from the wide range of books available to me at substantial savings. When I do not want the current selection – or prefer to order another book – I may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

Free Book

_____
(Title)

First Selection –

_____
(Title)

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss

_____
please print full name

_____
Street

_____
City State Zip Code

S64-92

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The startling story of the drug industry investigaton — and of the long, bitter fight for a law to protect you, the consumer

THE REAL VOICE

by Richard Harris

A *New Yorker* staff writer documents the findings of the Kefauver hearings. Here are the facts behind pricing, licensing and patenting arrangements that result in up to 7,079% wholesale drug markups and the use of unwitting millions as human guinea pigs!

Harris records what it takes to make a needed bill into federal law. He shows the anti-drug-bill forces at work, including Senators whose campaigns were financed by drug executives and the drug lobby "that makes the steel boys look like popcorn vendors." $4.95

"It lets a shaft of light in upon the forces at work within the United States Congress and the nation."
—Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS

"[Mr. Harris] has served the public interest very importantly."—DEXTER MASTERS, Consumers Union

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

YOUR POSTMASTER SUGGESTS:
ALWAYS INCLUDE
YOUR ZIP CODE NUMBER
IN YOUR
RETURN ADDRESS

WHERE IS THAT BOOK?

We'll locate it, and any hard-to-find books you need, fast. Save work—let our Book-Lures actively track down your wanted book lore. Get proven results easily with no obligation. Send your list to—

BOOK-LURES
P. O. BOX 442K, CALDWELL, NEW JERSEY

the President as a running mate seemed foreordained. It had a legitimacy and naturalness about it, based both on Humphrey's long-time role in the party and his more recent role as an instrument of the Presidential will. The personal understanding between the two men is both deep and delicate. There are, for instance, any number of versions of how and when Humphrey got "the word," but whichever is the correct one, it is true that Humphrey had spent weeks and months under the dual obligation—understood both by himself and by Johnson—of first preparing and proving himself for the candidacy while in no way forcing the Presidential hand or even acknowledging certain gestures in his direction. He fulfilled that obligation to the smallest detail. If there were to be placards and buttons ready for a Johnson-Humphrey ticket, for example, they had to be provided by the Humphrey people and ordered in advance. The paraphernalia was indeed at hand when the moment came, but until the President made known his decision, the secret of its existence and whereabouts was guarded like the war plans. The Johnson-Humphrey buttons, in fact, had been stashed in the cellar of an anonymous private home in neighboring Ventnor, New Jersey. Humphrey had been disappointed too many times before.

ANYONE who has endured as many of the cruelties of politics as Hubert Humphrey has could not possibly find any satisfaction in seeing them visited upon others. Still, for many spectators it was almost impossible not to reflect upon the reversing of roles between old friends and opponents within the Democratic Party. The prolonged and moving ovation the Attorney General received on the night he spoke had political meaning only in terms of the future and its uncertainties, a fact that seemed well understood by the Kennedy forces. Although the President had reportedly at one time been worried about them as far as Atlantic City was concerned, they were like a separate entity there, wholly preoccupied with discussions and negotiations and publicity connected with

AMERICA'S SECRET WEAPON... ITS LEADERS

There is a force of men and women who help our country hold its world place in science and development, in business and trade, in jobs and living standards.

Of course it is no secret leaders have to be trained and higher education is the best trainer. But our colleges are in a squeeze—many face serious shortages. Even now they are overcrowded, and soon applicants will double.

To hold our world position, we must appreciate that college is America's best friend. We must make certain our colleges have enough good classrooms, laboratory facilities and competent teachers.

Give to the college of your choice.

To understand how the college problem affects you, send for a free booklet to: HIGHER EDUCATION, Box 36, Times Square Station, N.Y. 36, N.Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIFE INSURANCE STOCKS

Fact vs. Myth

In the world of stock market investing, 1964 might well be termed "The Year of Life Insurance Stocks."

The big rush to buy Life Insurance Stocks during the past many months apparently has been spurred by a heady combination of *fact* and *myth*.

The *fact* is that Life Insurance companies—for a variety of reasons, including the complex laws under which they operate—tend to substantially *under*-state their true earning power. They put far more money into policy reserves to take care of future disbursements than will, in all likelihood, ever be needed. To illustrate, in 1963 the *real* (or adujsted) earnings of the leading Life Insurance Stocks—as calculated by Value Line—were 65% above *reported* earnings.

The *myth*, it seems to us, is that the Life Insurance Stocks possess a mysterious, boundless growth potential that makes them an investment bargain at *any* price. In our view, stock market investors are paying far too much attention to "face amount of Life Insurance in force," and *its* rate of growth, and far too little attention to policy reserves, and *their* rate of growth.

Value Line's comprehensive new Research Report on the Life Insurance Stocks gives a highly revealing—and *non-technical*—explanation of the various sources of Life Insurance revenues, and how these revenues are allocated. The Report presents full-page analyses of each of the leading Life Insurance Stocks, showing in each case the extent to which—in our estimation—earnings are *under*-stated. In addition, the Report sets forth specific projections of the *future* earnings growth of each of these stocks—in the 12 months immediately ahead *and* in the next 3 to 5 years.

GUEST REPORT

We will send you Value Line's new Research Report on the Life Insurance Stocks—revealing both the areas of greatest profit potentialities and of greatest risk—as a *special bonus* under the Guest Subscription offered below.

The 112-page Report will bring you full-page Analyses of each of the leading Life Insurance Stocks . . . plus 76 key stocks in the *Bank, Savings & Loan, Fire & Casualty*, and *Finance* industries. Included are:

Franklin Life	*Jefferson Std.*	*Aetna Life*
Conn. Gen'l Life	*Lincoln Nat'l.*	*U. S. Life Ins.*
Marine Midland	*Glens Falls Ins.*	*First Nat'l City*
Transamerica	*Bank of Amer.*	*Phoenix Ins.*
Travelers Ins.	*Amer. Investment*	*Continental Ins.*
Financial Fed.	*Republic Nat'l*	*Family Finance*
Bankers Trust	*First Charter*	*Chase Manhattan*
Continental Assur.	*Standard Finan.*	*St. Paul Fire*
Springfield Ins.	*Maryland Casualty*	*Gov't Emps. Insur.*

Under this offer, you will receive—for only $5, with *full* money-back guarantee—(a) *Value Line's New Summary of Advices on 1,100 Stocks and 50 special situations*, (b) *List of 85 Best Stocks to Buy & Hold Now*, (c) the next 4 *Weekly Editions* of the Value Line Survey with *full page* reports on *each of 340 stocks in key industries*, (d) a *Special Situation Recommendation*, (e) *Four Reports on Especially Recommended Stocks*, (f) *Business and Stock Market Prospects* (weekly), (g) *The Value Line Business Forecaster* (weekly), (h) *"What the Mutual Funds Are Buying and Selling,"* (i) *"What Company Insiders Are Doing in Their Own Stocks"* (weekly), (j) *Weekly Supplements*, and (k) *Four Weekly Summary Indexes* including all changes in rankings to date of publication.

To take advantage of this Special Offer, fill out and mail coupon below

THE VALUE LINE
INVESTMENT SURVEY
Published by ARNOLD BERNHARD & CO., Inc.
(Founded 1931)
The Value Line Survey Building
5 East 44th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Send $5 to Dept. R-6Z

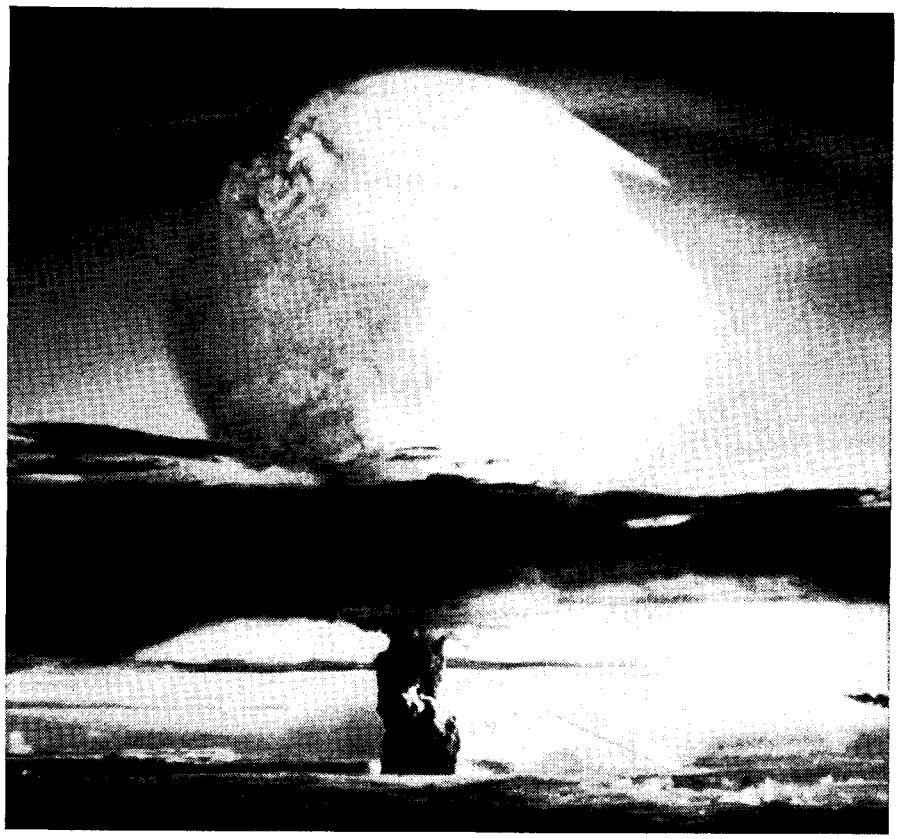
Name .....

Address .....

City .....*Zone* .....

State .....

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



This is one alternative to the United Nations

The U.N. is not perfect but it is our one best hope. Below are facts about its work that you should know. Read what the U.N. does to help prevent global war.

"MANKIND *must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind,*" said President Kennedy. "*Never have the nations of the world had so much to lose or so much to gain.*"

Dwight Eisenhower said that the U.N. "*has accomplished what no nation—or any limited group of nations—could have accomplished alone.*"

The U.N. helps put out brush fire wars before they can flare up and consume the world. In the Congo, for example, the U.N. helped restore order, to prevent Russia and other powers from taking over.

The U.N. helps heal colonial conflicts—breeding grounds for war. In Indonesia, Libya, Somalia, Togo and Tanganyika new nations were born and became U.N. members.

The U.N. offers a meeting place for nations. World leaders are "onstage" before the conscience of world opinion.

Behind the scenes, U.N. programs like UNICEF and UNESCO feed, shelter, protect, cure, teach, and inform millions of the world's underprivileged people. The United Nations gets at the *roots* of war.

The U.N. needs the moral support of every American, not out of fear alone but out of *understanding*. Express your views about the U.N. to your neighbors, friends, and government representatives. Get the facts. Write to the U.S. Committee for the United Nations, New York 11, for a free copy of "The U.N. in Action."

U. S. COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

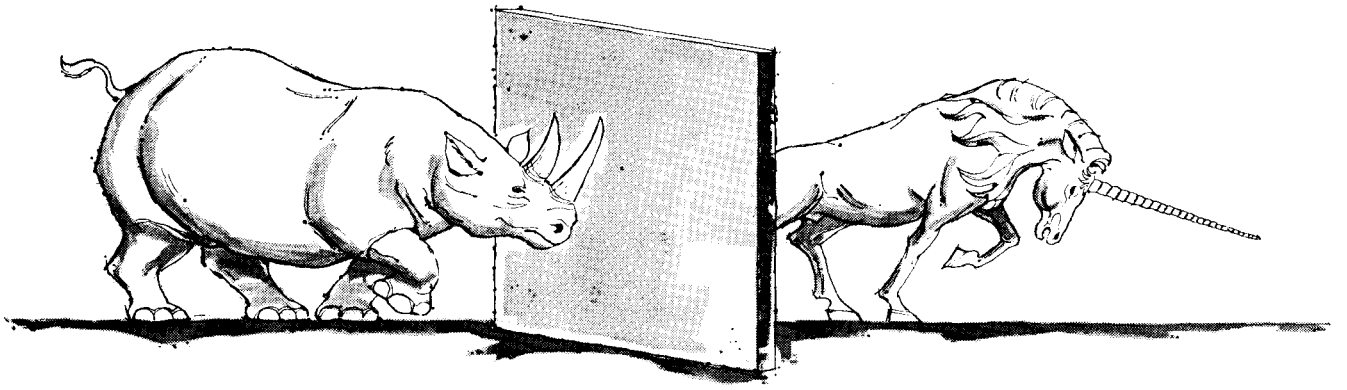
Robert F. Kennedy's Senate candidacy in New York State. For the time being at least, they appeared to recognize that it is a Johnson-Humphrey ticket and party these days. As the Attorney General was leaving a small but crucial reception of New York delegates, someone accosted him with a trivial complaint about press arrangements in Atlantic City. His answer was only a second in coming, and it was rather quiet. "It's not our convention," he said.

—MEG GREENFIELD

Postscript

Just before leaving the convention, President Johnson told reporters about the frontlash, the number of Republicans who will switch to vote Democratic this November. He said their number was "two to three times larger" than the backlash. You know, of course, what the backlash is, that's old. The frontlash is new. New, too, is the whiplash, the way a fiery keynote speech can propel the orator into the job of assistant Democratic leader of the Senate, providing, of course, that the orator is a senator and the Whip is nominated Vice-President. New, too, is the boonlash, exemplified by a headline the morning after: "Atlantic City Finds Convention Was Not a Boon for Business." Compared to a normal August week, business on the boardwalk during the festivities turned out to be twenty to fifty per cent off. "We would have been better off without the convention, a restaurateur complained. It was a "total, complete, disaster," a novelty-shop owner said. "It's like after Labor Day." The Democrats, apparently, not only drove the regular summer crowds away; they were stingy to boot. Yet the major hotels and motels did well. Maybe it's a question of taste. At least the delegates complained bitterly about the food (the hashlash?). We don't know what to make of the possibility that the boonlash—since the small businesses outnumber the large by a considerable margin—will cancel the frontlash that was to wipe out the backlash, except that it could only happen in Atlantic City. And there is nothing, alash, that the whiplash can do about it.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



HOW DO YOU STOP FACTS FROM BECOMING FABLES?

Every day, knowledge obsolescence turns hard-learned facts into interesting, but useless, relics. You can't stop it – but you can prevent it from stopping you!

At this moment, the tax accountant is busily engaged in learning the new income tax laws . . . the electrical engineer is being forced to keep pace with the break-through advances in his field . . . the computer experts of modern industry are faced with assimilating an increasingly rapid flow of new ideas and methods which *must* be considered.

However, most changes are more gradual, less obvious, and you are often unaware of their scope until someone else gets that promotion . . . or, in the midst of a conversation, you suddenly find that you're contributing less and less.

Now, Britannica Schools, a division of Encyclopaedia Britannica, offers you and your family the opportunity to enrich and up-date your store of necessary knowledge through a unique approach to home study.

For the first time you are able to take advantage of authoritative courses which combine the historic tutor-student relationship with new "programmed" methods—considered by educators as the first truly fresh system of learning in decades.

Courses cover creative writing, business communications, mathematics, science, history, social studies, and the entire secondary school curriculum. Britannica Schools will be pleased to send you information on any or all of them. Just mail the coupon today. There's absolutely no obligation; these courses are sold ONLY by mail.

42 Courses Now Available

IOWA WRITERS' WORKSHOP: Four courses specially created and handled by the Iowa Writers' Workshop Staff: Fiction Writing, Advanced Fiction Writing, Writing Poetry, Advanced Poetry Writing.

4 COMMUNICATIONS COURSES

WRITING IS FOR READERS: A language skills course stressing expository writing. A must for the college-bound student.

COMMUNICATION IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY: How to communicate clearly, concisely. Covers assembly line orders to the president's report.

TECHNICAL WRITING: 1. *Introductory*; 2. *Advanced*. Simplifies the acquisition of a normally difficult skill.

18 "PROGRAMMED" MATHEMATICS COURSES

Modern and traditional math—a complete series of secondary and a major portion of university courses plus management-level courses—taught by Britannica's exclusive "teaching machine" method:

7th Grade Mathematics • Whole Numbers and Numerals • Basic Mathematics • Verbal Problems in Algebra • Algebra I • Plane Geometry • Algebra II • The Language of Algebra • Trigonometry • Solid Geometry • Analytic Trigonometry • Introduction to Sets, Inequalities, and Functions • Introductory Calculus I & II • Descriptive Statistics • Management Decision Making.

THREE NEW COURSES: MODERN MATHEMATICS FOR JR. HIGH SCHOOL—The FIRST Multi-Track Treatment in Programmed Learning of Modern Mathematics! • MODERN ALGEBRA • BEGINNING BOOKKEEPING—Fully "programmed" basic course.

SECONDARY LEVEL "PROGRAMMED" SUBJECTS FOR SELF-ENRICHMENT OR REVIEW

HUMANITIES—English Composition; English Literature; American Literature; Spanish 1 and 2.

SOCIAL STUDIES—Economics; Sociology; Civics; Modern History; U.S. History; World Geography; Ancient and Medieval History.

SCIENCE—General Science; Chemistry; Biology; Physics.

Clip This Coupon Now...Mail It Today!

R-94

Please send me complete information on the courses checked. I understand that this obligates me in no way and that I will be contacted by mail only.

☐ Iowa Writers' Workshop Writing Courses
☐ Communications Courses ☐ Mathematics
☐ Social Studies ☐ Humanities ☐ Science

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP CODE_____

AGE_____ OCCUPATION_____

Britannica Schools

A Division of Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc.
14 East Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60604

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

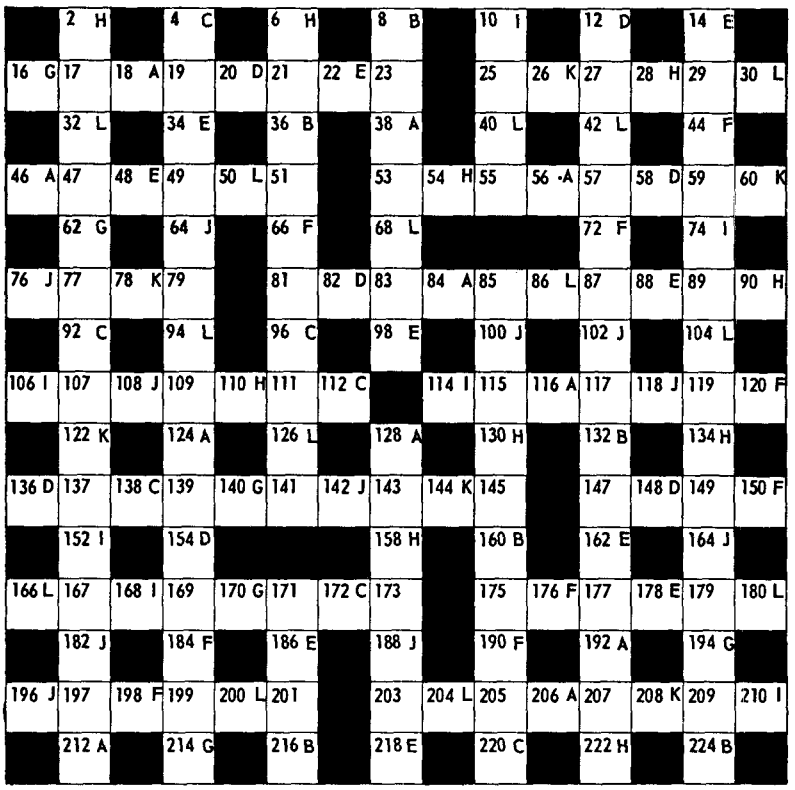
THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 108

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
128 56 38 206 116 18 212 84 192 124 46 A simpleton.

B
224 8 160 36 216 132 Cheated, fleeced.

C
4 96 112 138 220 172 92 What an unfortunate person may be born under (3,4).

D
82 148 12 136 58 154 20 Swindles (British slang).

E
48 186 34 98 88 162 22 218 178 14 Logically consistent.

F
190 72 44 198 184 150 176 120 66 Symbol of a fraternal order (3'1,5).

G
62 140 194 16 170 214 A famous fighter plane of World War I.

H
134 158 6 130 2 54 110 28 222 90 Logistic vehicles for land forces (4,6).

I
168 210 106 152 114 74 10 "Be_____in season, out of season." II Timothy.

J
76 102 164 108 182 100 64 118 142 196 188 Bailiwick of the Acrostician (5,6).

K
144 78 208 26 122 60 "...and the _____ Tree shall flourish." Ecclesiastes.

L
204 104 166 42 68 200 94 32 126 40 30 86 180 50 How a son of King Arthur is described according to some versions (3-4,7).

ACROSS

16. Father of the Acrostician (4,4).
25. A Cody you know? You're no gentleman, sir (3,3).
46. Last month before a poem—decipher this one!
53. Bothered when one scores a touchdown about Russian money.
76. Oils in single performances.
81. Honest! Free, but where the ship may go! (2,3,5).
106. A depressed sucker with dull gas.
114. A train's set of the way of pictorial representation (2,2,3).
136. A Toby blows when you go on a drawn-out sea voyage (2,4,4).
147. What the farmer says when the planting is just fair?
166. Cite what you like about the good luck tabby (5,3).
175. Rebound with a little weight at last.
196. Inters what is put in.
203. A mangled happy response (4,4).

DOWN

2. Take thy meaning for it with unlimited leisure (4,3,8).
4. A way of answering an unimportant piece of mail of misspelling (8,1,6).
6. Dig out and, lo, walk home! (4,6).
8. Curious children or drinks (3,4).
10. The beginner will try nothing.
12. British dish produced with soap, but no oil can. (6,3,6).
14. When the lollypop was done in by Barnum? (5,3,1,6).
85. Tractable rug or a low card, for example (4,2,4).
128. Part of a canoe trip where the drink is on the times.
171. When it's d'Azur, it's nothing, etc.

©1964 by

the Reporter Magazine Company

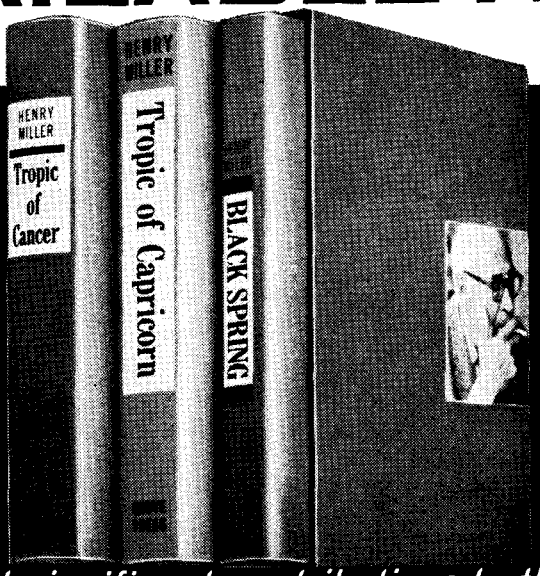
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AVAILABLE AT LAST

FREE

WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION

THE COMPLETE BOXED SET FROM GROVE PRESS



THE HENRY MILLER TRILOGY

TROPIC OF CANCER

TROPIC OF CAPRICORN

BLACK SPRING

"One of the most significant contributions to the literature of our time."
—Sir Herbert Read

EXCLUSIVE WITH THE **HUDSON BOOK CLUB**

Purchased separately, these three volumes would cost you $20.00 everywhere. Handsomely boxed, they are yours free if you act promptly.

*T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, George Orwell, and Ed*mund Wilson have characterized Henry Miller's long-forbidden trilogy as a modern American classic. Yet for years the only copies available in America were those smuggled into the country at great risk.

Today the official climate has changed, and Americans who once knew Miller solely by reputation are discovering that he is not only a daring writer but a great one.

LAWRENCE DURRELL: "American literature today begins and ends with the meaning of what Henry Miller has done."

To celebrate the triumphant reception now being accorded to Henry Miller's **Tropic of Cancer, Tropic of Capricon,** and **Black Spring** by the country that gave him birth, Miller's publishers are making the complete Trilogy available in a handsomely boxed set. It is yours free while this extraordinary offer lasts. Here—together as Miller intended them to be—are the three novels on which his fame is based:

TROPIC OF CANCER. "A triumph of the comic spirit." —**Horace Gregory.** "I call Henry Miller the greatest living author."—**Karl Shapiro**

TROPIC OF CAPRICORN. "A moral work of great perception and feeling. The forces of censorship haven't a prayer against it."—**Richard Seaver**

BLACK SPRING. "A remarkable work of art. How could this ever be called pornographic?"—**Maxwell Geismar**

THE HENRY MILLER TRILOGY is an example of the important reading offered regularly to members of the Hudson Book Club at reduced prices. Limited quantities have been set aside as Free Gifts for new members who join now. It makes good sense to send for your free set today, with your first selection chosen from the list below. If not delighted, simply return the books within 2 weeks and your membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation. The club takes all the risk.

ONLY THREE MORE SELECTIONS NEED BE TAKEN WITHIN ONE YEAR.

The Hudson Book Club pools your buying power with that of other discerning readers who share your tastes. By means of low Members' Prices and free Bonus Books, it saves you an average of 50% on the very books you would otherwise purchase at full price.

IMPORTANT TO ACT QUICKLY. Mail coupon today while free copies of THE HENRY MILLER TRILOGY are still available.

THE DEPUTY. By Rolf Hochhuth. Magnificent drama in this urgent dialogue between Nazism and Rome over the Jewish Final Solution. List, $5.95. **Members' Price $4.75**

IN THE BEGINNINGS. By H. R. Hays. *Monumental study of our early ancestors and the* gods they fashioned out of their darkest urges. 565 pp., 116 illus. List, $10.00. **Members' Price $6.95**

THE SILENT PAST. By Ivar Lissner, author of **The Living Past.** The archeology of the "lost worlds" that have haunted human history—from Atlantis to Jericho, Carthage, Yucatan. 115 illus. List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.85**

ETRUSCAN ITALY. By Henry Harrel-Courtes. A rare study of Etruscan art and civilization offering an impressive grasp of the culture. 16 photos, maps and text figure. List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.95**

THE AZTECS. By Fray Diego Durán. Ed. and *trans. by Doris Heyden and F. Horcasitas.* A colorful history of the Aztecs from their origins up to the Spanish Conquest. List, $12.50. **Members' Price $9.95**

MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH: The Fallacy of Race. By Ashley Montagu. All the myths and fallacies surrounding the word "race" are penetrated by this provocative book. 544 *pp. fourth edition rev.* List, $7.50. **Members' Price $4.95**

THE LIFE OF LENIN. By Louis Fischer. "Never has the image of Lenin, as a person, been more clearly drawn..."—George Kennan. List, $10.00. **Members' Price $7.50**

CIVILIZATION OF ROME. By Pierre Grimal. Rome as City, as Empire, as Idea; by a mas*ter scholar and writer. 229 illus.* List, $11.50. **Members' Price $7.95**

TEMPLES, TOMBS AND HIEROGLYPHS. By Barbara Mertz. 5000 years of Egyptian archaeological history, focussing on Queen Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Akhenaton, etc. 25 photos, 46 line drawings. List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.95**

WAITING FOR THE END: A New Work on the Crisis in American Culture, Race and Sex. By Leslie A. Fiedler. 20th century American writers and writing: Baldwin, Capote, Mailer, Miller, etc. and the radical shift in American culture. List, $5.95. **Members' Price $4.50**

THE WILL OF ZEUS. By Stringfellow Barr. A magnificent history of Greece, written with soaring power and beauty. 496 pages, 31 photos. List, $10.00. **Members' Price $5.95**

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE. By Richard Hofstadter. Is America's notorious philistinism part of our democratic roots? List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. The art of 1000 years in a highly prolific age. 416 pp., over 1000 illus., 36 in full color. List, $17.95. **Members' Price $9.95**

THE HERITAGE OF PERSIA. By R. Frye. From the Medes to Alexander, Darius, Zoroaster, the Islamic conquest—highly readable. 126 illus. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $5.50**

THE MEDIEVAL WORLD. By Friedrich Heer. The high noon of medieval life, 1100-1350, recreating courtly love, art, science, and ideals. Photos. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $5.50**

THE GREEKS and THE ROMANS. By H. D. F. Kitto (Greeks) and H. R. Barrow (Romans). Over 2000 years of history—insights into Greek free thought and Roman conquest. 2 vols.; 577 pp., 75 photos. List, $12.00. **Members' Price $7.95**

EROS DENIED. By Wayland Young. A history of sexual behavior. "A remarkable, brilliant and revolutionary book."—J. Donald Adams. List, $7.50. **Members Price $5.45**

THE CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ARCHAEOLOGY. Ed. by Leonard Cottrell. An impressive account tracing the movement of whole peopies; ancient Peruvians, Indian Mauryans, Mayas, etc. 184 illus., 16 in full color; 512 pp. List, $15.00. **Members' Price $9.95**

SHAKESPEARE. By Peter Quennell. Shakespeare and the pomp and panoply of Elizabethan England spring to life. Illus. List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.85**

THE FABULOUS LIFE OF DIEGO RIVERA. By Bertram D. Wolfe. A biography of a hugely talented artist—his ties with Picasso, Modigliani, Orosco, Cocteau, etc. 203 illus. List, $10.00. **Members' price $6.95**

ASIATIC MYTHOLOGY. By J. Hackin. Lavishly illustrated survey of Asian myths by the greatest French Orientalists. 369 plates, 15 in color. List, $12.50. **Members' Price $7.95**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT WITH COUPON

HUDSON BOOK CLUB, 131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK 13, N.Y.

Please enroll me as a Trial Member of the Hudson Book Club and send me **free** THE HENRY MILLER TRILOGY. As my first selection, send me, at the low Members' Price:

_____
(ENTER YOUR FIRST SELECTION HERE)

If for any reason I decide not to remain a member, I may return these books within 2 weeks and my membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation.

If I elect to remain a member I need choose only 3 more books at reduced prices during the coming year, and will be under no further obligation. Thereafter, every 4 books I accept from the Club will entitle me to a free Bonus Book of my choice.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

☐ Please bill me for my First **Selection plus** shipping charge.

☐ My check for First Selection is enclosed (Club pays shipping). Same cancellation privileges. MR-101

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The President-Candidate

With the two conventions over, this is the time of lamentation for the thoughtful political commentators. Respectfully, we would suggest that the two 1964 conventions have marked a change in party politics that may prove to be epoch-making. True enough, we have not been spared any of the immemorial paraphernalia. In both conventions the nomination of "the man who" had long been preordained and each of them in his acceptance speech nobly and tirelessly emphasized his dedication to immortal principles.

The similarity, however, stops here: the novelty it conceals is momentous and, should it prove enduring, unfathomable. We now have only one political party instead of two—one party faithful to the American tradition of catchall partisanship, with a nationwide conglomeration of different and somewhat harmonized interests. There used to be some variety in the types of harmonization characterizing each of the two parties, a variety that was both caused and maintained by historical factors and glandular congeniality.

This *was* the American party system; for quite a number of years a unique peculiarity of our politics and a queer compliance on the part of our lowbrow politicians with the wishes of the highbrow Founding Fathers, who loathed factionalism. Incidentally, since the end of the war, our catchall pattern of partisanship had been adopted by a number of European countries eagerly seeking immunity from ideological factionalism.

At San Francisco the G.O.P. was captured by one of its factions. It cannot be said yet what the ideology of this faction is, but its leaders are desperately in search of a resounding one. After expelling from all positions of responsibility in the party organization everybody suspected of deviation from the newly established line, the guardians of that line can well indulge in celebrations of unity, but only to further humiliate those Republicans who were defeated and had recanted. It is not a pretty sight. Our country is unaccustomed to confessions of unfortunate politicians who have transgressed the party line.

President Johnson is now not only the head of the Democratic Party; he is also the caretaker of the bipartisan traditions and functions which the Democratic Party used to share with the G.O.P. In his acceptance speech he said it most emphatically: "Tonight we offer ourselves on our records and by our platform as a party for all Americans, an all-American party for all Americans!"

It has been traditional in our game of politics for a party to claim the representation of a majority of the nation or, indeed, of the nation as a whole—a claim made legitimate by the coalition character of both parties. The G.O.P.'s default at San Francisco has given Lyndon Johnson the burden of heading a bipartisan coalition. This is an abnormal and indeed a dangerous situation. It can be ended when the Republican Party regains its identity, and this will be at best a hard, time-consuming undertaking, even if the present Republican leadership is overwhelmingly defeated at the polls.

The burden of political responsibility already resting on Lyndon Johnson would be crushing for any politician not endowed with his vigor and skill. Since his ascendancy to the Presidency he has exhibited a political craftsmanship that has awed the nation: in steering his legislation through Congress, in his handling of labor conflicts, on the one occasion when he had to use weapons of war to punish an enemy, his sense of measure and timeliness has been superb. He has proved irrefutably that a politician is the most qualified man to handle politics. Perhaps he has never shown his skill to such a degree as in his selection of a Vice-President when he masterfully conducted a wide-open search in his own tightly closed mind.

There is no emotionalism in the relationship between Lyndon Johnson and the people. In the opinion of some, this gives a gray color to his image. If this means that there is a distance felt on both sides between the President and the people, we cherish this distance. Only under Harry Truman had we a man in the White House who was not a source of complexes—fatherly or otherwise—throughout the nation.

A good President is one who doesn't demand of the citizens a blank check of unqualified confidence. We like a President in whom we can put a trust constantly related to his performance and constantly qualified. We like a President who does not demand too much closeness and who is somewhat awkward when he tries to convey to the people not just the evidence of his political virtuosity but also his inspirational ideals. When Lyndon Johnson expresses himself in generalities, we are inclined to believe him but we keep up our guard.

We think it is fortunate for the nation to have Lyndon Johnson as its candidate and its President, even if we cannot quite make out what he has in mind when he hails the coming of the "Great Society."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Civil Rights: The Law and the Unions

A. H. RASKIN

"WE WORKED harder than anybody except the NAACP to get the Civil Rights Act through Congress; now our problem is to get it through our own unions." That is the essence of organized labor's predicament in this year of Negro progress toward full equality, as viewed by a top official of the AFL-CIO. It is a quandary made more worrisome by the fact that this is also a Presidential year—one in which the Republican nominee is a man whom labor's leaders are more eager to sweep into overwhelming defeat than any major party candidate in this century.

The federation's official position against bias in jobs, promotions, apprenticeship programs, and every other form of economic opportunity could not be firmer. "The AFL-CIO is for civil rights—without reservation and without delay," said its president, George Meany. "Mere acknowledgment, mere lip service to equal rights is not enough. The labor movement is committed to a positive program for translating principle into reality on every front."

Yet private polls taken under union auspices in several Northern centers indicate that the white backlash against Negro pressure for faster integregation draws much of its strength from rank-and-file unionists in the mass-production industries as well as from those in the exclusionist skilled trades. The most tangible evidence of the extent of this disaffection came in the heavy primary votes Governor Wallace of Alabama received last spring in the working-class districts of Gary, South Milwaukee and East Baltimore.

More recent samplings have shown that this segregationist sentiment has led many workers into the Goldwater movement despite the fact that even the traditional Republicans in labor's high command have joined with the Democrats in backing President Johnson. David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers of America told the President at a recent White House dinner that a check of the union's members in Indiana pointed to a majority for Goldwater. And a poll in one large Teamster local in New York showed a 7-3 margin for the Republican Presidential nominee, with civil rights as a major factor.

PART of the union backlash, of course, stems from such conventional worries as housing and schools and the status-consciousness of families that have achieved a modest degree of financial security and community recognition. In Polish, Hungarian, and Italian neighborhoods, where ethnic ties remain strong even though the flood tide of immigration stopped almost two generations ago, the walls of worker districts are especially hard to breach.

But the root of the special union problem is anxiety over jobs during a period when automation is taking its heaviest toll of work opportuni-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties in the fields where most union members work and where most Negroes want to work. There are fewer jobs and more workers competing for them. In an effort to intensify ill will between whites and Negroes on this issue, segregationists seek to convince white unionists that their seniority, hiring halls, and all the other elements of job control on which their high wages and security depend are imperiled by the fair-employment practice provisions of the Civil Rights Act. At the same time, Negroes are being told that they ought to get behind the drive for enactment of state "right-to-work" laws as a means of ending the union shop and thus breaking down union-imposed barriers to fuller employment in construction, printing, and other fields where "white only" is still the predominant practice. Thus far the drive has not affected the top-level co-operation between the AFL-CIO and the chief Negro organizations, but the signs of friction below are prevalent enough to cause concern in both groups.

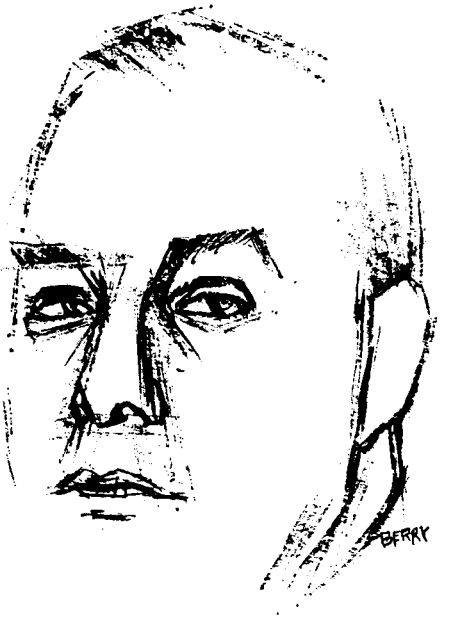
Who Can You Trust?

The cultivation of apprehensions among white workers is clever, direct, and well financed. The Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, which receives much of its funds from the tax-supported Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, has mailed an analysis of the rights law to every local union in the country. The document is designed to instill fear that the new law will mean the wholesale displacement of white workers in the interest of "racial balance."

Also widely circulated is a speech made by Senator Lister Hill of Alabama in the course of the civil-rights debate. Hill denounced the bill as a "blow to labor union freedom" and a death knell for the seniority system. Since Hill has been the sponsor of much pro-labor legislation and has always been highly regarded in union ranks, the Hill strictures have caused more dismay than the more blatant propaganda of those who could readily be disregarded as apologists for anti-labor racist sweatshoppers.

A memorandum prepared by the AFL-CIO legal staff and sent to all unions does a comprehensive job of demolishing the Hill arguments. It notes that twenty-five states already have fair-employment practice laws of their own, and that none of these has undercut unions, impaired seniority systems, or compelled the discharge of white workers because there were not enough Negroes on the payroll. In addition, the federation's field representatives have been trying, with only moderate success, to erase the various misconceptions about the bill.

Actually a reading of the act would provide considerable reassurance to any worker anxious about being pushed out of his job to make way



for a Negro. The fair-employment section does forbid unions or employers to withhold any job right on the basis of color. But it likewise specifically states that it is not illegal to apply different standards of pay or protection under the terms of a bona fide seniority system, provided there is no intent to discriminate on racial grounds. The law is just as explicit in disavowing any requirement that unions or management grant preferential treatment to rectify racial imbalance or to establish quotas in line with community race ratios.

The enforcement provisions are mild, not because the AFL-CIO wanted it that way but because of pressure from Southern Democrats who did not want any fair-employment clause and from some Northern Republicans who were not much more enthusiastic. The President is to appoint a five-member Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which is to stress conciliation as a means of eliminating discriminatory practices. Where there are state fair-employment laws, the commission must defer to the state for at least sixty days before initiating any formal Federal proceedings. If all efforts at voluntary compliance or state action fail, the aggrieved worker has the right to bring a court suit to compel the union or employer to take him in. Direct government participation in the suit is limited to cases in which the Justice Department certifies that "a pattern or practice of resistance" exists to an extent that makes the matter "of general public importance."

EXPERIENCE with the fair-employment laws in many industrial states, most of which are stronger than the new Federal statute, makes it plain that they represent no instant solution to union bias. In New York, for example, the State Commission for Human Rights has the power to enforce its cease-and-desist orders through the courts, and district attorneys are authorized under the Penal Code to seek jail sentences and fines against employers or unionists who exclude Negroes from jobs. Since 1935 a ban on discrimination by any contractor doing state or city work has been part of the New York Labor Law, but no contract has ever been canceled for that reason.

In general, the effort in New York State has been to proceed slowly on legal crackdowns, even in the most flagrant cases. One of the few in which the state finally decided to act involved Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association, which for three-quarters of a century never admitted a Negro to membership or apprenticeship. After the efforts of the AFL-CIO, a complaint by the State Attorney General, and a variety of other pressures had proved ineffective, the state commission ordered the local to discard its Jim Crow waiting list for apprentice training and to compile a new list based on objective standards of qualification. The union went to court to fight the ruling, but late last month

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it gave in and agreed to a new system, with enough safeguards against bias to make it a model for the building trades.

The probability is that the Federal program will operate along similar lines of slow rather than meteoric progress. Yet there is already an undercurrent of unease among some secondary leaders in the crafts that the end result will be to put outside "do-gooders" in the role of judges over every aspect of union apprenticeship and assignment procedure, thus smashing the tight little monopolies that many locals have been able to insulate against the inroads of the Taft-Hartley Act.

THE FEAR that the civil-rights drive will weaken the structure of union job control has been strengthened by recent actions of the National Labor Relations Board. One was its decision that it was an unfair labor practice under the Taft-Hartley Act for an independent union at a Houston tool plant to discriminate against Negroes. The union was stripped of its bargaining certification, thus making it vulnerable to raids by other unions. Labor leaders in the forefront of the desegregation effort looked with some disquiet on the ruling—not because they objected to the penalty for dealing unfairly with a Negro but because they feared a flood of complaints to the NLRB whenever workers felt their unions had not represented them fairly in any kind of grievance, with or without racial overtones.

Another source of union concern is a complaint issued by the regional office of the NLRB in New York against Local 2 of the Plumbers Union, Meany's home local. The case grew out of a strike by white plumbers that occured when three Puerto Ricans and a Negro reported for work last spring on a municipal market project in the Bronx. The NLRB complaint accuses the striking local of have forced an employer to discriminate against the quartet because they were not members of the union.

Meany himself played a leading role in settling the strike, even though he was convinced that the placement of the four non-white plumbers on the job was part of an attempt by some elements in the civil-rights movement to embarrass him for reasons of personal malice. In cooperation with Mayor Wagner, Meany worked out a formula under which the four men could be given qualifying tests under impartial supervision. Factional troubles inside the local, plus the hostility of many of its members to authorizing special treatment for Negroes or Puerto Ricans, delayed the settlement. Finally, the tests were given—and the men failed.

But before Meany broke the log jam over even letting them take the tests, he rankled the civil-rights groups by voicing unreserved support of the refusal of the local's members to work with nonunion men. He said he would tear up his own card if the local ever departed from that stand.

This was precisely the reverse of the position Meany had taken in 1960 when Local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Washington was refusing to take in Negroes. At that time the AFL-CIO chief said he would personally recruit nonunion Negro electricians to work on Federal office buildings if the local did not end its defiance of anti-discrimination recommendations made by the Eisenhower administration. The ensuing struggle involved a political "Who's Who" that included Vice-President Nixon, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, Meany, and the contractor, Matthew H. McCloskey, then treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. Meany and the two high government officials put so much pressure on McCloskey to break the electrical local's lily-white pattern that the contractor sought to bring in Negro members of a Philadelphia electricians' local. When this brought a threat by all the Washington construction unions to strike, Meany said he would staff the job with nonunion men and lead them to work himself. The administration followed with a warning that it would sue Local 26 for its ban on employment of Negroes on Federal works. The parent union also exerted pressure. The result was the same as in New York. The local reluctantly agreed to let five Negroes take qualifying tests—and all failed. Later, a small breakthrough was made and the all-white hiring design ended.

What is involved in the New York plumbers' case, however, goes far beyond the issue of discrimination. It brings into challenge the sub rosa closed-shop arrangements many unions of skilled craftsmen have managed to retain, even though those have technically been illegal since the passage of the Taft- Hartley Act seventeen years ago.

The building-trades employers, seldom disposed to question the unions' ironclad rule over jobs, have been content to leave old relationships undisturbed. Some modifications have been made under legal pressure to avoid too obvious inconsistencies with the law, but a full-dress challenge by civil-rights groups could compel a basic dilution of union job monopolies in many areas.

THERE IS no real wish on the part of the NAACP or other large organizations to undertake such a drive without giving the federation adequate opportunity to bring its own dissidents into line. The NAACP is as conscious as organized labor that the result could be a weakening of unions on a scale that would seriously impair their capacity to fulfill their function as guardians of pay scales and job security. Though it initiated the Houston decertification case, the NAACP's general policy on court actions to upset discriminatory union practices is one of caution.

This is chiefly because it is now persuaded of the sincerity of the approach of Meany and most of his associates in the AFL-CIO Executive Council in using voluntary action to abolish union bias, which Meany describes as a "bootleg product sneaked

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in by the back door and nowhere condoned."

One reason for the civil-rights leaders' new confidence in Meany's earnestness—quite apart from the stern lectures he has given laggard unionists in the privacy of his own paneled office a block from the White House—is the knowledge that the new Federal civil-rights law would not contain any fair-employment section if it were not for him.

When President Kennedy sent the original draft to Capitol Hill, it did not have a section covering discrimination in jobs. The administration signified its support for fair-employment bills already pending in Congress, but it was clear to everyone that any such proposal separated from the omnibus civil-rights bill would never stand a chance of passage. The section was inserted in the administration bill only at the strong insistence of the AFL-CIO.

An Aye for an Aye

The federation took the view that the threat of legal action was essential if the most intractable holdouts in organized labor were to be forced to comply with the pledge in the AFL-CIO constitution to extend the full benefits of unionization to "all workers without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin." The alternative to legislation was the ouster of Jim Crow unions from the federation, a purification device that failed when it was used to discipline the Teamsters for domination by corrupt elements.

Throughout all of the long fight in both the House and Senate for the full Civil Rights Act, union lobbyists worked in close co-operation with those of the NAACP, CORE, and other rights groups. Indeed, there was no item of purely union interest on which anything like the same amount of effort was expended by the AFL-CIO legislative staff.

The civil-rights organizations were equally vigorous in opposing the passage of state "right-to-work" laws. Twenty states, most of them in the South and Southwest, now have such legal prohibitions against any form of compulsory union membership. A major drive was made to add Oklahoma to the list last May, and much of the sponsors' appeal was addressed to Negroes and Mexican Americans, all on the basis that the law would open skilled jobs in fields controlled by Jim Crow unions. The NAACP and its allies waged such an effective rebuttal that Meany gave them primary credit for the defeat in the statewide referendum.

But the genuineness of the rapport at the top offers scant guarantee that the spirit of co-operation will penetrate all levels of either the union or the civil-rights structure. This is not merely because unionists reflect all the passions and prejudices of the general population and are no more disposed than any other Americans to have their attitudes dictated from above. It is because the crucial rounds in the civil-rights struggle are being fought in a period when the age-old concern about job security is made more acute by the impact of technological change and the inability of our society to guarantee anything approaching full employment.

"How can we take in Negroes when we haven't got enough jobs for our own?" is the cry in unions from one end of the country to the other. Even the argument that apprenticeship systems should be opened up on a nondiscriminatory basis gets a cold reception. "I'm no Rockefeller. I've got no fortune or no business to leave to my son; what's so bad if I get him first crack at an apprentice's

job?" asked a New York building tradesman. And his question is echoed in a thousand other locals.

In the mass unions, where outright discrimination has been practiced much less than in the skilled trades, automation is generating new hostilities. These are bound to increase because the essence of the union response to the problem of technological displacement is the defense of the jobs of those who already are in. The man who has a job is protected against forced layoff. But the man who is outside wanting to get in—especially if he has been excluded through years of discriminatory hiring practices—is not likely to believe there is anything equitable about building a wall around the workplace to protect the early arrivals. It is this competition between the "outs" and the "ins" that is liable to cause a polarization of hostilities in many areas. It is one reason that in cities like Gary, white men rake up memories of nearly a half century ago, when Negroes were called in as scabs in the steel mills. Or in Detroit, where similar memories are dredged up of the times when Negroes were used to keep out the union at Ford.

THE EXISTENCE of such sentiment accounts in part for the stress that both labor and the civil-rights organizations have put on the anti-poverty program and on a much more developed program of public and private measures to provide full employment. And this in turn helps explain the fierce opposition of labor's leaders to the candidacy of Senator Goldwater.

The solidarity of top-level labor animosity toward Goldwater seems of little concern to his campaign organization. His strategists are convinced that the unanimity of the union hierarchy will help persuade many rank-and-filers that the AFL-CIO has become a witless prisoner of the Democrats and their allies in the civil-rights organizations. Plans are being made to set up a Labor Committee for Goldwater as part of the campaign organization, but it is doubtful that it will include any officials much above the grade of shop steward.

"We are very optimistic about the chances of getting a response comparable to the rallying of unionists to the Taft banner in the Ohio Senatorial contest in 1950," one of Goldwater's principal lieutenants asserted. "The idea Barry is hostile to labor is obvious nonsense, and that is being widely accepted by the rank and file, despite all the poison that is being spewed in their union publications."

The Republicans are also trying to penetrate the Negro community, but they acknowledge that their progress there has hardly been spectacular. Material is being prepared to put

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Goldwater vote against the Civil Rights Act "in perspective," and some help is expected from Negro publications, especially those tied closely to local Republican machines. However, the real concentration will be on rank-and-file unionists. What worries union leaders is not the literature that bears the official imprint of the G.O.P., but the cruder outpourings of the professional union haters and white supremacists. In every campaign, the effort to reach the labor vote is a twin-level affair, with much of it far removed from any touch of decency. This time, labor expects that the bottom will be somewhat lower than Project Mohole.

On their side the unions are circulating elaborate recapitulations of the Goldwater labor record, with special stress on the three bills he sponsored in the present Congress. One bill would allow unions and employers to enter into union-shop contracts only where states specifically authorize such pacts. This is a reverse twist on the conventional right-to-work approach, which requires specific state action to prohibit compulsory unionism. Another provision would require government-supervised strike votes at the request of thirty per cent of the workers.

The same bill would oblige the government to sue on behalf of union members who complained to the Secretary of Labor that their organizations were infringing on their rights under the Landrum-Griffin Labor Reform Act. Members who felt that their dues were being used for purposes unrelated to collective bargaining could ask the Labor Department to get their money returned or their union-shop contracts annulled.

Another bill, co-sponsored with Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas, would apply the anti-trust law to unions in the transportation field. Still a third, offered during the featherbedding dispute on the railroads, would have given management unilateral authority to decide what manpower was "reasonable and needed." The unions would not have been free to strike in protest against such decisions, but would have had only the right to contest them in court. But over and beyond such presentations — embroidered with dire forecasts of what these proposals would do to wreck unions— labor's leadership is trying to develop an affirmative program to build support for the Civil Rights Act and to strengthen the alliance with the Negro organizations it forged on Capitol Hill. One example of this effort was a Washington rally September 2 where Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, the chairman of the Civil Rights Leadership Conference, addressed representatives of all AFL-CIO unions.

The main purpose of the meeting was to get every international and local committed to an educational effort to explain the new law and to set at rest the fears it has kindled. The federation also pledged itself to move forward, not backward, in lobbying for adequate funds to enforce the law and for amendments to correct any deficiencies it may have.

The big question is whether the labor and civil-rights alliance can survive the pressures it must meet at its birth—the virulence of the white backlash in many unions, the insistence of the Negroes on much faster progress toward a full breakthrough in jobs, housing, and education and, most stubborn of all, the shortage of new job openings—for white youth and Negro youth alike. What both sides want is a solution in which the test will not be whether a white American or a black American walks the streets jobless, but where there will be enough jobs for all. And nothing in the platform of either major party makes full employment certain enough in this period when the onsurge of automation makes itself felt more in fear of unemployment than in promise of abundance.

Gary's Rank-and-File Reaction

VICTOR HOFFMANN and JOHN STRIETELMEIER

THE STRONG SHOWING made by Governor George Wallace of Alabama in Indiana's Presidential primary was expected. Indiana has been called the most Southern of the Northern states, and the Hoosier temperament is resolutely conservative. What was surprising was that Wallace carried only three counties and that one of these was Lake County. Probably the least Hoosier county in the state, Lake includes the cosmopolitan industrial cities of Gary, Hammond, East Chicago, and Whiting. Its similarity to other urban industrial areas of the North has brought Lake County under the close scrutiny of political observers trying to measure the extent and the intensity of the "white backlash" in the November elections.

Lake County is steel mills and oil refineries, first-generation Americans, powerful industrial unions, ethnic groups which are still proudly conscious of their identities, a stronghold of the Democratic Party. Its largest city is Gary, which has the largest percentage of Negroes among cities north of the Mason-Dixon line (forty-six per cent in the 1960 census, but probably close to fifty per cent today). Negroes play an active role in Gary's political life—the president and two other members of Gary's nine-man city council are Negroes, as is the city engineer. Gary's school system was the first to be desegregated in the state. Job discrimination exists in Gary as elsewhere, but at least a Negro with a high-school education can work in the mills at $150 a week. For many years there has been no serious problem of public accommodations, and there appears to be, on the surface at least, a minimum of interracial friction.

AND YET a Southern governor who did not campaign in Lake County and about whom little was known except that he had made himself a symbol of segregation—a candidate, moreover, who was actively opposed by the newspapers, the trade unions, the clergy, and the political organizations—gathered an impressive 42,712 votes to 40,185 for Democratic Governor Matthew E. Welsh.

Wallace undoubtedly profited somewhat from protest votes cast against Welsh on such local issues as

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the new sales tax enacted by the last session of the legislature or the location of a new deep-water port in neighboring Porter County. But the voting statistics suggest the need of some better explanation. It seems to lie in the fact that every white precinct in Gary went for Wallace and every Negro precinct for Welsh. There is no evidence to suggest that white and Negro voters hold opposing views on the sales tax, a deep-water port in Porter County, or Governor Welsh.

Leigh Plummer, who edits a group of suburban newspapers, says flatly that "the racial issue in Gary overshadows all other issues" and estimates that ninety-five per cent of the Wallace vote was white backlash. A leader in one of the crafts unions agrees, and admits that he is part of the backlash: "I've been a Democrat all my life and I still am on the local level. But I'm one hundred per cent for Goldwater. We've got Negroes in my union and they're O.K., but eighty-five per cent of the Negroes in this town are too pushy. It's time for the whites to enjoy some segregation." A Democratic candidate for state office describes the backlash as "terrific" and estimates that because of it President Johnson will run six to eight thousand behind the top man on the ticket in the county next November. A veteran newspaperman put it this way: "There are resentments, and they run deep. They had an outlet for expression in the primary." Clifford E. Minton, director of the Gary Urban League, agrees. "The May primary didn't reveal anything new. We knew the backlash was there. But the impression is often given that it is larger and more formidable than it is."

As these statements indicate, there is considerable disagreement over the dimensions of the backlash. The trade-union people and the leaders of both party organizations tend to agree with Minton that it is not as large or as formidable as the Wallace vote might suggest. But theirs is a minority view, and the way it is expressed leaves the impression that they are perhaps more hopeful than convinced. The man on the street, typically a steelworker, says freely that he thinks that the Negroes are trying to move too far too fast and that it is time to slow them down.

But why was the backlash more evident in Lake County than in, say, Indianapolis, which also has a large Negro population and where there would seem to be more reasons for interracial friction?

It does not, at present, seem to be a matter of job security. Prosperous Lake County has enough jobs for all, and the Negro does not, in effect, compete with white workers for a job. Integration in the labor force of the mills was an accomplished fact years ago, and there is actually a shortage of qualified and interested

Negroes for many jobs that are now open on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Perhaps the answer is to be found in the city of Gary itself. It is a young town, founded in 1906, and a large part of its population is first- or second-generation American. Opinions differ on the attitudes of the ethnic groups toward the Negro, but there is evidence that the pressure of the Negro for equality threatens the security of members of some of the ethnic groups, particularly the Poles and Italians, who feel that they have not yet been fully accepted or who have only recently won acceptance.

Minton offers a second explanation. He thinks it is true in both the North and the South that the greater the percentage of Negroes, the greater the white hostility. The white man has had to come to terms with the Negro in Gary. He even faces the possibility that his next mayor will be a Negro. Hence, the white voter might find an outlet for his feelings in the privacy of the polling booth.

There has also been in Lake County, as in all Northern industrial centers, a large influx of Southern Negroes since the Second World War. Within both the white and the Negro communities a distinction is made between the old-timers, who allegedly are doing well and cause no trouble, and the new arrivals.

Finally, it must be pointed out that Welsh actually carried the city of Gary, although by a small margin. Wallace's pluralities came from outside Gary, in white suburban areas that feel threatened by a "Negro invasion."

This diffuse fear may have been accentuated by the increase in pressure from certain Negro leaders for an open-occupancy law. Whatever may be said for the generally good relations between the races in Lake County, the Negro has obviously suffered discrimination in housing. Gary's Central District, the heart of the Negro community, is a depressing slum. Hammond has contained its Negroes in a substandard district along its eastern edge. Most of the county's suburban area is all white and intends to remain so. People in white communities who had only recently moved after selling their former homes in changing neighborhoods for less than what they considered a fair price do not hesitate to say that they are "not going through that again."

AT THE MOMENT, though, the whites do not seem to want to lay down any open challenge to the large Negro community, and for its part, the Negro leadership has a long tradition of political maturity. So far, neither political party has shown any inclination to exploit the backlash, and the county's small extremist element appears to have no permanent party affiliation. In fact, hardly anyone is saying that the Negro should not ultimately have what he is demanding. The complaint is that he is asking for more than he is "ready for" and that he wants it all "right now."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom Schools, North and South

CARLETON MABEE

On a table surrounded by Negro children, in a Negro church in Mississippi, was a small clay figure of a man whose back was bent. It had been made by one of the children, and with a white college girl guiding them, they discussed how the "system" in Mississippi bends the backs of men of both races.

This was one of the new "freedom schools," which may become as important to the civil-rights movement as boycotts, voter registration, or demonstrations. The idea of freedom schools developed in Northern cities during the past year. To keep thousands of children off the streets during school boycotts against de facto segregation, civil-rights leaders set up freedom schools, usually in churches. The first were in Boston. Others followed in Chicago, New York, and Cleveland. Now they have spread to the South, and have been extended from one day to several weeks. Some have even become year-long, functioning after regular school hours and during vacations. The obvious aims of the freedom schools are to raise the low academic achievement of Negro children and to develop racial pride by teaching Negro history, thus stealing a march on the black nationalists. Less obvious purposes include working through freedom schools for Negro neighborhood organizations, political and otherwise; dramatizing the inadequacy of the public schools; and providing an outlet for teachers who hesitate to participate in more direct civil-rights action because of pressures from their school boards.

But there are notable differences between the freedom schools of rural Mississippi (forty-two per cent Negro in 1960 with the proportion declining) and urban Cleveland (twenty-nine per cent Negro and rising).

In Cleveland the freedom schools were born during a bitter struggle between the United Freedom Movement and the Cleveland Board of Education. The Movement has demanded quality education relevant to the needs of the underprivileged and an end to de facto segregation. The struggle has been marked not only by a one-day school boycott, which CORE claims kept ninety-two per cent of the Negro pupils away, but also by sit-ins in the school-board building and by demonstrations at the construction sites of new ghetto schools—demonstations that led to rioting and the death of Presbyterian minister Bruce Klunder. Against this background, the Cleveland freedom schools are a goad to the school board and the white business leaders who support it.

The schools are held in churches, with the younger children usually meeting in the morning, the older children in the evening. The teachers are volunteers, mostly Negro, and receive no pay. CORE leader Antoine Perot, Jr., the Negro director of the Cleveland freedom schools, is concentrating on teaching chiefly by discussion, and hopes the summer schools will lead to enlarged and more effective freedom schools this fall.

At a school in a Negro Baptist church, I visited a class of eleven teen-agers taught by a white college student and two Negro adults. The children were reading aloud by turns from mimeographed sheets prepared by public-school teachers who remain anonymous for fear of retaliation by the Cleveland school board. The children stumbled over words like "venturing," "sacrifice," "irked," and "bigotry."

They were reading about Gabriel Prosser, a Negro slave who led a slave revolt, and about Harriet Tubman, an illiterate Negro who helped slaves escape by the Underground Railroad. The children suggested many possible reasons why Prosser chose one method to help his people and Harriet Tubman chose another.

I asked one of the staff, a Negro social-studies teacher, why he had volunteered for the freedom schools. "To develop racial pride," he replied, "so Negroes do not look down on themselves so much."

At a school in an integrated Presbyterian church, I sat in a class of twenty-four high-school students, taught by a white adult and two college-age youths, one white and one colored. The teacher asked the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

class to interpret the recent racial riots in Northern cities.

"Let's face it," one aggressive youth replied. "Americans won the Revolutionary War by violence. Every people have won their freedom by violence. Negroes will have to too."

"So far we haven't accomplished much by nonviolence," a quiet boy added.

"The whites caused the riots," a girl broke in, "by putting us in slavery in the first place, and then making us second-class citizens."

"I disagree; Negroes already had slaves in Africa before the whites came," another countered, referring to materials read earlier in the term. "Whites didn't start slavery. Negroes sold slaves to whites."

The teachers played a limited role. They avoided pronouncing judgment on the questions at issue but kept open the opportunity for everyone to speak.

When the class was over, some of the group explained what freedom school meant to them. "It gives us a new look at what the Negro faces," said a boy. "It gives us a chance to let off steam," a girl explained. "In the public school we can't do that; we're ashamed to be ourselves."

Questions and Answers

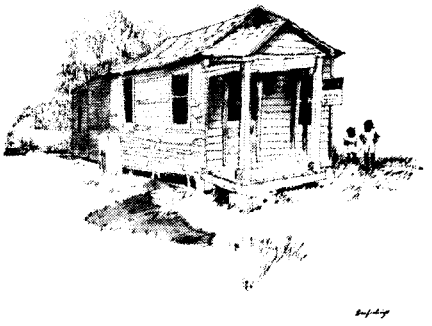
In Cleveland an independent body, the Freedom Schools Coordinating Committee, runs the schools, but CORE seems to provide the spark. In Mississippi the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), composed of the NAACP, SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, runs the schools as part of the Mississippi Summer Project, which also includes voter registration, community centers, research, and agricultural service programs. There, SNCC seems to provide the spark.

The National Council of Churches ran orientation sessions for the civil-rights workers, including freedom-school teachers, who were on their way to Mississippi for the summer. At one session I heard Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale, the white director of the Mississippi Freedom Schools, urge the freedom-school teachers to listen to what their pupils had to say rather than talk to them all the time. Listen, he said, to what they answer to questions like these: What is life like in Mississippi? Why do many Negroes move North? How does the white power structure work?

In Meridian, Mississippi, the city where the three civil-rights workers who were murdered had been stationed, I found a school in a drab Baptist seminary building. I stood outside in the hot sun, talking to one of the teachers, a white college girl. I asked her if she was afraid. "Yes," she admitted, and said she was careful to follow instructions not to go out at night. "But," she added, "if I were *very* afraid, I wouldn't be standing here in front of the school, an obvious target, would I?"

I asked a high-school boy why he attended the freedom school. He answered promptly: he came to study French, which is not offered in his school; Negro history, which also is not offered; and algebra, which he felt he needed in preparation for that subject in the fall.

Inside the building, I sat in a class in which teen-agers were looking at pictures of African masks and ex-



plaining how they felt about the differences in expression among them. On a map the teacher had marked West Africa, from which the masks and also many ancestors of Negro Americans had come.

Children like the freedom schools, one of the supervisors, a Negro Mississippian, told me, because they are different from the public schools. The Negro public schools, she said, use out-of-date texts, often discarded from the white schools; they teach no foreign languages or Negro history; they have overcrowded classes. The teachers, unlike those in Cleveland, are themselves all Negro, often come from culturally deprived backgrounds, graduate from unaccredited segregated colleges, and are so cowed by their white school boards that they scarcely dare to teach their classes what democracy is. Their teaching, moreover, Dr. Lynd told me, is apt to be authoritarian in method.

In a one-room Holiness church in Canton, I heard a teacher ask: "What would you be feeling if you were put in jail for marching?" A boy of about fourteen answered: "I would be thinking I wouldn't want to be so active in the freedom movement so I wouldn't be in jail again."

A girl in a Clarksdale freedom school explained how she felt about Mississippi. "The state is the loviest [*sic*] in the U.S.," she wrote; "it is the people here that damage its beauty."

In a rural church in Madison County, high-school students were debating Reconstruction policy, standing up by turns to argue their position. "When the soldiers left," I heard one boy say, "Negroes had their freedom but didn't have no land."

A freedom-school teen-ager wrote how she felt about equality: "Most of Mississippi white people are screaming, 'Niggers are dumb. They could do better if they would try.' But if the Negro is so dumb why would they entrust the very lives of their children in the hands of their Negro maid? How can we do better if my mother works twice as hard for poorer wages than any average white woman doing the same job?"

In a Methodist church I joined a small circle planning a mimeographed newssheet. When the teacher asked everyone in the group to choose a major front-page story in any newspaper and decide, if possible, whether the author was a Republican or Democrat, a segregationist or integrationist, a fifteen-year-old-girl said, "The newspaper in our town is prejudiced. It is all written by whites."

The teacher, a white student at Iowa State, replied, "What about *our* paper's staff? Look around." The group looked at each other.

"I guess you mean we're all colored," the girl said, "so we'll be prejudiced too?" The teacher nodded his agreement.

After a pause a boy spoke up: "But we have a white leader. The town paper doesn't have a colored

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leader." They broke into waves of laughter, immensely pleased with themselves.

In Cleveland there are five freedom schools with about 220 pupils and sixty teachers; in Mississippi there are twenty-five freedom schools with about 1,500 pupils and 165 teachers. The Cleveland schools meet three times a week for short sessions. The Mississippi schools, perhaps reflecting the greater academic need of their children as well as the greater desperation of the freedom movement there, meet five days a week for longer sessions. In both "systems" the classes are small, often with only five to fifteen pupils in each. While most pupils are well dressed in Cleveland, most are not in Mississippi. There is also more chance to reach dropouts in the South.

IN BOTH school systems there are tough internal problems. In Mississippi one teacher, a California college student, told me she was too idealistic when she arrived in Mississippi. "I somehow thought they would want to learn Negro history," she said, "but I have a problem making them pay attention." In Cleveland one teacher, a determined college student, said that when his class has a break he has trouble getting them back together again; he feels they want to learn but often lack the ability to follow through on a program even when they choose it themselves. In both systems teachers complain that many children lack experience in discussion, read and write poorly, and come irregularly and late.

Among the faculty there are sometimes awkward sensitivities. White teachers occasionally become defensive when children criticize "Mr. Charlie." One white teacher found that she couldn't talk freely with her younger Negro colleague, who seemed immature and overly conscious of race.

In Cleveland the volunteer teachers are mostly local Negro residents, many of them public-school teachers. In Mississippi they are mostly Northern whites, many of them college students.

Because the teachers in Mississippi have come at some risk and expense to themselves, and expressly to teach, they are apt to be dedicated. In Cleveland, the teachers, most of them living at home, sometimes allow other interests to compete with the schools and fall into attending irregularly or not at all. One member of the Cleveland freedom-school board believes that Northern cities, like Mississippi, need civil-rights task forces from outside to invigorate their freedom schools.

The Mississippi teachers are expected to pay their own way to the state as well as the cost of maintaining themselves there; in some cases their home church or teachers' association contributes to these costs. Teachers generally stay in Negro homes, and doing so provides them with opportunities to understand and enjoy Mississippi (one teacher told me that, despite lack of running water and the monotony of biscuits and greens, it was the best part of his stay in the state). On the other hand, having white teachers stay in their homes sometimes causes Negroes trouble; one family's house was shot at, and afterwards police drove by with a loudspeaker urging the family, to no avail so far, to stop housing teachers. Others, under threat, have asked teachers to leave.

The presence of many out-of-state whites among the freedom workers in Mississippi this summer is a sharp reversal of COFO's policy last summer that it was too dangerous for whites to work in the state. This previous policy led to Negro staffers living in danger in Mississippi while subject to direction from white staffers living in safety in Atlanta or New York, and some Negro staffers resented it. (SNCC headquarters has now moved from Atlanta to Greenwood, Mississippi.) The previous policy also prevented COFO staffers from providing an example of whites and Negroes associating freely on the basis of mutual respect. The fact alone that the freedom schools now provide such an example in segregationist Mississippi is enough to make them significant.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drawing the Line In Southeast Asia

DENIS WARNER

THE PROVOCATIVE Communist torpedo-boat attacks on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin last month have had at least one salutary effect. They have provided not merely the opportunity but also the obligation for the Johnson administration to make clear the widely misunderstood difference between escalating the war in Southeast Asia and containing it. Now, no one in Hanoi or Peking can doubt that the United States, far from extending the war, has simply declared its intention of drawing a line. Its friends and allies have been reassured, its foes warned.

Along with new strengths in this American position, there are also new burdens. Having demonstrated that Southeast Asia is worth the risk of a major war, Washington will find it difficult to change its mind. There can be neither a pull-out nor recourse to fictitious neutralization without great discredit. A line is implied but not yet drawn. The challenge is not less but greater than before.

The first step toward preventing piecemeal erosion and the more direct threat of Chinese or North Vietnamese conquest is to deal with the area as a whole and not as a series of unrelated states.

The pursuit of one policy for Laos and another for South Vietnam has long prevented the United States from taking the military action necessary to halt the flow of North Vietnamese cadres and materials to the Vietcong. The 1962 Geneva accords proved a major victory for North Vietnam, a means of eliminating American military assistance from Laos while assuring itself a free hand for its own agreement-breaking activities. Since 1962, as a consequence, Laos has become both a funnel into South Vietnam and a springboard from which Communist forces could at any time plunge deeper into Southeast Asia. If there is any major escalation from the Communist side, whether by North Vietnam alone or together with the Chinese, this is where it may be expected, not along the vulnerable seaboard of Vietnam. The American strength is sea and air power. The Communists have the strength on the ground. They will challenge only where they have greatest chance of success.

Laos by itself would be relatively unimportant, but it matters desperately to Thailand, which remains the heartland of all anti-Communist resistance in Southeast Asia. Its protection from Communist attack and subversion is no less vital than that of South Vietnam. In both cases, Laos is the key.

Any attempt to roll back Communism in Southeast Asia would lead to a war of unpredictable length and eventual disaster. It is equally unrealistic to believe that air and sea power, however great their threat may be, will deter the aggression by seepage and proxy that has been going on in Southeast Asia, or even the use of massive but expendable manpower by China. In short, unless the hold-fast line implicit in the Gulf of Tonkin actions on August 5 is officially stated and urgent plans are made to defend it, not only South Vietnam but all of Southeast Asia may be lost.

The Ho Chi Minh Trail has not been closed by the Seventh Fleet's air-strike reprisals. The Vietcong in South Vietnam is not cut off from external Communist support. Southern Laos and behind it northeastern Thailand are as vulnerable as ever. Even if Hanoi and Peking learned some prudence from the U.S. bombing, it is reasonable to expect that they will make a more determined, if more covert, bid to enlarge the scope of their activities in areas calculated to provide maximum embarrassment for the United States.

Part of a hold-fast line is already drawn along the 17th parallel in Vietnam. Its weakness is that it can be, and is, outflanked. More effective naval action should be able to interdict the seaboard flank: the jungle flank in Laos poses more difficult problems. A line simply extending the 17th parallel across the waist of Laos would be militarily inadequate and politically inexpedient. For one thing, it would sacrifice to the enemy all of northern and central Laos, including Vientiane and the royal capital, Luang Prabang.

Yet for valid political and psycho-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

logical reasons, and for realistic military reasons as well, the line in Laos cannot aim at much more than control of the Mekong River valley, preferably as far north as Luang Prabang and the road net, including the two main access roads for the Ho Chi Minh Trail, in the narrow waist immediately north of the 17th parallel. Indeed, by declaring that they no longer recognize Prince Souvanna Phouma's coalition government in Vientiane, the Communist-led Pathet Lao forces in their Sam Neua and Plain of Jars strongholds have already set the scene for just this sort of partition.

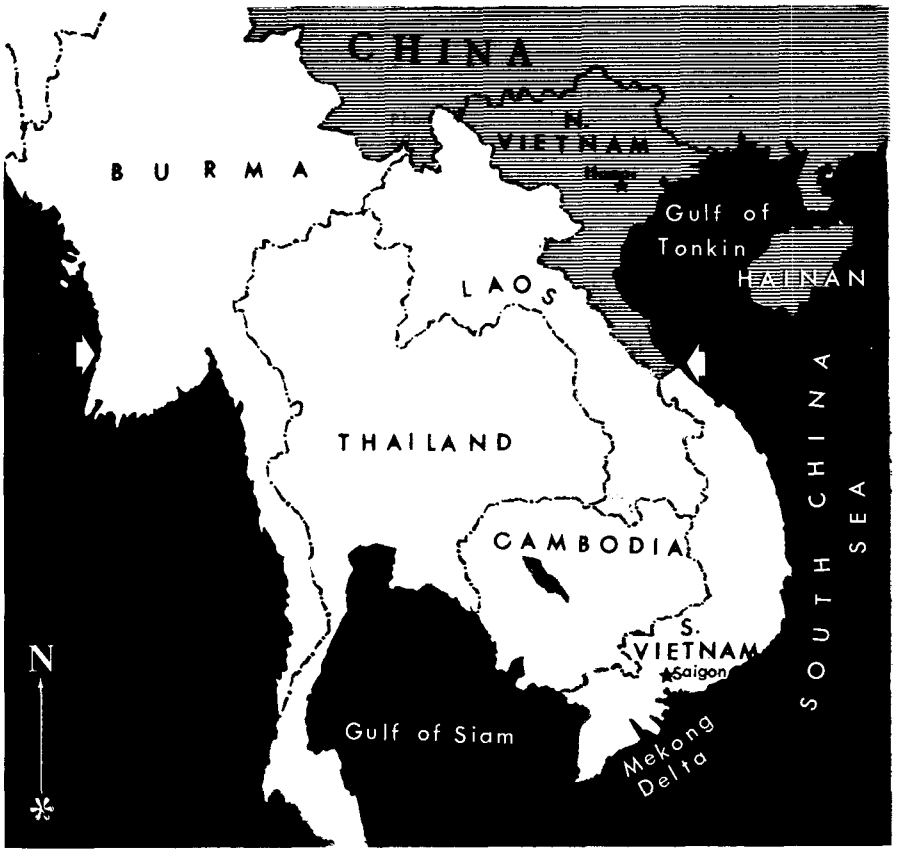
'This Far and No Farther'

From experience in Vietnam and elswhere, no one would suggest that partition is a desirable arrangement. But there is no alternative except continuing piecemeal losses. Its advantages are many. It would keep most of the ethnic Lao, kin to the northeastern Thais across the Mekong, in non-Communist control; it would create a *cordon sanitaire* for the protection of Thailand and its vulnerable northeastern provinces; it would cut the Ho Chi Minh Trail; and, by leaving a buffer zone in northern Laos under the domination of the Pathet Lao, it would take note of China's sensitivities about its border areas.

These objectives are not bellicose. To stand by them would be simply to say "this far and no farther." They are both a minimum and a maximum. Anything more would be provocative; anything less, inadequate.

There is nothing new in this general proposition. Years ago the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization gave serious consideration to a plan that called for the movement into the Mekong River area of substantial SEATO forces and the establishment of firm bases across the river from Thailand in Laotian territory, thus freeing the Royal Lao Army from static defense responsibilities and allowing it to move freely against the Pathet Lao in the Ho Chi Minh Trail area of eastern Laos.

To be sure, the capabilities of the Royal Lao Army leave much to be desired. Yet within the framework of objectives that concede northern



Laos to Pathet Lao control, the basic concept is sound and the limited task of guarding the river towns against Pathet Lao-Vietminh attack not beyond the capacity of a small but competent force protected by an air cover from Thai bases.

The waist of Laos poses problems of a different order. The 17th parallel crosses Laos between Savannakhet, the center of right-wing General Phoumi Nosavan's principal strength, and Thakhek, some fifty-five miles to the north on the river. The key to the Laotian waist is the road junction and village of Lak Sao. One branch road runs northeast to Vinh, the jumping-off place for the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Another goes south and opens the way through a new road built by the Vietminh to Tchepone, a major staging base and supply depot on the Ho Chi Minh Trail. A second lateral road runs northeast from Thakhek and passes through rugged jungle country to North Vietnam.

The countryside, in part impenetrable limestone hills and elsewhere deep valleys and razor-edged ridges covered with matted rain forest, is forbidding. Primitive Kha tribesmen with their crossbows and poisoned arrows, all of them owing allegiance to the Pathet Lao, know every jungle footpath. But however unfavorable for military operations, it is one of the few areas in Southeast Asia where the Communist forces find themselves with their own lines of communication to defend. Without extending the war eastward into the waist of North Vietnam, at its narrowest point only thirty-five miles wide, this region could be interdicted if the forces involved were large enough and determined enough and were assisted, as they could be in this region, by planes of the Seventh Fleet.

The Enemy Strength

The line-up in Laos today still shows the Royal Lao and neutralist forces with a substantial numerical advantage over the Communists—about sixty thousand compared with not more than thirty thousand. But the Pathet Lao has been strengthened with Vietminh cadres in artillery and anti-aircraft formations and in all technical and maintenance units and is backed up by seventeen regular Vietminh bat-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

talions that move freely in and out of the country. By Laotian standards this is a formidable force. With all-out Vietminh support available, it would be optimistic to expect that it would need more than a week to sweep through Royal Lao-neutralist opposition to the Mekong, where it would face only the untried Thai army of eighty thousand.

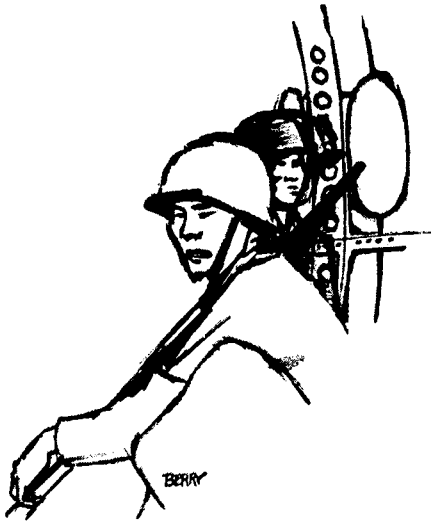
The Vietminh regular forces are variously reckoned at between fifteen and twenty-one divisions. Behind them in Yunnan and Kwangsi are another fifteen Chinese Communist divisions, which may well be reinforced by other and better units of China's 110-division army. For the past two years Peking has been improving road communications in its southern border areas, connecting them with road links in northern Laos. Furthermore, the Pathet Lao already controls the road leading south to Ban Houei Sai on the Thai border. Thus Communist China and North Vietnam could mount an invasion of Thailand through Laos with considerable speed. They also have a limited but effective ability to reinforce the Vietcong along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. But these are urgent reasons for, not against, an official hold-fast line.

Removing All Doubts

One of the many weaknesses in the defense of Southeast Asia has been SEATO's lack of a standing army or anything resembling the NATO force that stands in the path of the Soviet Union, an unmistakable reminder and warning that Western Europe does have a hold-fast line. Unless and until a similar line in Southeast Asia is declared and sufficient forces are deployed to defend it, or at least to delay an attack, the Chinese may be prepared to exploit the current weakness on the ground without regard to the consequences. They know that if they do overrun Southeast Asia, no amount of bombing of lines of communication will ever force them out.

Yet for the United States to station substantial forces on the Mekong River line without the clearest statement of its limited objectives probably would aggravate the tensions in Southeast Asia, provide Peking with justification for offensive action, and perhaps embarrass the Soviet Union to the point where it could not refuse to meet China's request for help.

This is perhaps the most important point of all. For many months Moscow has been endeavoring to get the message across to Peking that China could not expect the Soviet Union to come to its defense in time of need if it did not cease its anti-Soviet campaign. This sound advice went unheeded even after August 5. On August 11 Peking published a collection of Khrushchev's speeches, reports, and articles printed in *Pravda* during the Stalin era which proved, according to their introduction, that he was a double-dealing hypocrite and worse. The following day, Peking Radio went even further and hinted that Khrushchev had



been privy to the American plan to attack the torpedo-boat bases in North Vietnam, the implication being that he had not bothered to tip off his fraternal comrades in Peking and Hanoi. On the same day, it attacked Khrushchev and the Soviet Union for failure to support North Vietnam against American aggression.

This is scarcely the way to persuade Khrushchev to help China in Southeast Asia. But it is all the more important that the West should permit no blurring of the lines between right and wrong, between aggressor and victim. The hold-fast line would take care of that. Its purpose would not be war but peace, not an assault on North Vietnam or a threat to China, but elimination of the conditions that would make such an assault necessary or desirable.

In Laos the territorial exchanges envisaged in drawing such a line might be negotiable: the Plain of Jars and surrounding country in the north for the Lak Sao-Savannakhet-Tchepone triangle in the narrow waist. And if the Pathet Lao should not care to negotiate, the region is ideally suited for close carrier-borne air support.

THERE ARE patent dangers in such positive action. At the peak of the Korean War, Communist China and North Korea had a million men in the field, supported by more than five hundred tanks and a thousand aircraft. Southeast Asia could turn into another Korea; but Korea would have been a much different war—and perhaps not a war at all—if a hold-fast line had been irrevocably declared and formidably manned. To be sure, China's intervention in Korea was facilitated by the Manchurian industrial complex, the Trans-Siberian Railway, and a fairly well-developed rail and road communications network. Southern China, apart from the few new roads, has no such facilities. But Mao does have the potential here and in North Vietnam for shock action, and as the situation now stands in SEA might well be tempted to risk a fast offensive. North Vietnam, however, despite the Red River Delta granary, is a food-deficit area, and there is little cultivation of any sort in northern Laos or southern Yunnan to help supply a major force that stops short of the central Thailand rice bowl. Should Mao gamble on a lightning war, he would have to win soon or not at all: and a hold-fast line, properly defended, would squelch his hopes for a quick victory. With a population of more than seven hundred million and the largest army in the world, China clearly has great capacity for self-defense; it is probably unconquerable. But by forcing the showdown in the Gulf of Tonkin, China exposed the limitations of its offensive capability. Without Soviet support, it is not impressive.

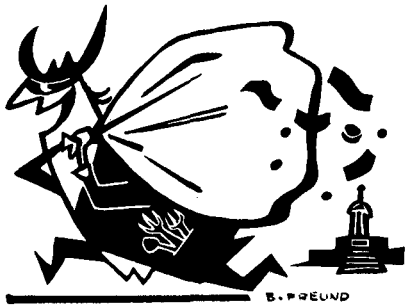
A hold-fast line would offer no promise of a sudden turn for the better in South Vietnam. The Vietcong still gets substantial remit-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tances in men and materials from the north. But by now it is well enough equipped within the framework of the National Liberation Front and its 300,000 willing supporters to carry on its operations with captured equipment for a long time.

Moreover, it would be unrealistic to expect that even totally effective action along the Ho Chi Minh Trail would cut off all external support for the Vietcong. The quality rather than the quantity of the Vietminh cadres that continue to enter through Laos is the cause for concern, and some of these would somehow contrive to trickle through, if not along the Ho Chi Minh Trail then by night landings along the coast or through Cambodia.

Whatever is done, the frustrations will be endless. The merit in an official hold-fast line is not that it would provide a formula for winning the war in South Vietnam. Even to fight back to something like a military stand-off will be a long, slow process, based as much on political and economic rehabilitation as on military pacification. But the line would be a tangible declaration of intention, a tripwire and a deterrent, a shield of sorts for Thailand and South Vietnam, and in itself a bargaining point if and when negotiation seems to offer hope of achieving something better in Southeast Asia than a Geneva-style Communist take-over. «»



CAP and TVA:

Barry's Fine Distinction

DON OBERDORFER

ON THE MORNING of July 31, the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs approved S. 1658, commonly known as the Central Arizona Project (CAP), which is expected to be the most expensive Federal water-and-power project ever authorized in a single bill by the United States Congress. Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona, one of the two cosponsors of the billion-dollar plan and a powerful member of the Interior Committee, was present. The other sponsor, Senator Barry Goldwater, was in California at a place called Cave Man's Camp in Bohemian Grove, expounding his philosophy of rugged individualism and shrunken government to an assemblage of wealthy citizens.

The seeming contradiction between political principle and political interest has plagued Goldwater's role in this remarkable project since he joined in co-sponsoring it in June of last year. This was just a few weeks before he publicly suggested that the government sell the Tennessee Valley Authority to private investors. "Apparently [his] position," remarked Representative Carl Elliott of Alabama, "is that if you spend $1.7 billion for a public power project to serve seven Southern states, that is socialism. But the spending of $1.1 billion for the same purpose in one state is enlightened conservatism—if that state just happens to be Senator Goldwater's."

Goldwater subsequently retorted that he has been both maligned and misunderstood. The Central Arizona Project, he explained, "is not a public works project . . . it will pay back at least eighty-five per cent of the money invested in it by the Federal government. . . ." On another occasion, when a reporter asked him to square his consistent opposition to Federal rivers-and-harbors schemes with his sponsorship of CAP, Goldwater replied: "That's different. That's a reclamation project, and reclamation is a loan project."

Submerged beneath the contradictions and the semantics are some truths that are vital both for Goldwater and his home state. The first is that Arizona, in many respects the fastest-growing state in the nation, is on the verge of a strange and horrible form of bankruptcy—the bankruptcy of its water supply. The second is that the only institution in a position to do much about it is the United States government. The third is that Arizona voters expect the men they send to Washington to save them from this deadly thirst. "I think Barry sincerely believes in the CAP," said another of the state's leading political figures, "but when you come right down to it, he doesn't have much choice. Failure to push it ahead is the one thing that could kill him back home."

Federal projects are nothing new to Arizona. Governor Paul Fannin, a Goldwater protégé, has said that Teddy Roosevelt's National Reclamation Act of 1902 made Arizona what it is today. That program harnessed untamed rapids to irrigate the arid land, provide valuable electricity, and make the desert bloom. The very first Federal reclamation endeavor in the United States was the Salt River Project near Phoenix, which still provides public power for Senator Goldwater's own famous electrically operated flagpole at home, his ham radio rig, and the cleverly concealed controls in the headboard of his oversized Hollywood bed, by which he can actuate floodlights, turn on the TV set, and pull the curtains to darken the room

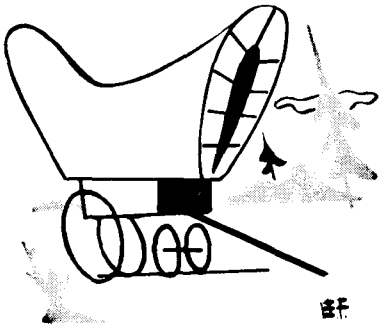
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the flick of a finger. R. J. McMullin, general manager of the Salt River Project, estimates that Goldwater's electric bill is fifteen per cent lower than it would be at private-power rates. "The senator is one of our better residential customers," he reports.

IN THE YEARS 1950 through 1962, Arizona ranked first among the states in the growth of manufacturing employment, bank deposits, agricultural income, and life insurance in force. It ranked second in population growth, shooting up from 750,000 people to more than 1.4 million. At the same time, however, the water supply has hardly grown at all. In populous central Arizona, surface sources provide only one-third of the water the area requires. The rest is laboriously mined from underground like precious ore—at a rate four times as fast as it is replenished by rainfall percolating through the parched ground. Wells must be drilled deeper each year. In large areas of Goldwater's home county of Maricopa, the water table has been dropping an average of 11.5 feet a year, which is courting economic disaster.

The last major source of water is the Colorado River, which for much of its meandering course forms the boundary between thirsty Arizona and equally thirsty Southern California. In 1947, about the time Goldwater was a member of the Interstate Streams Commission in Arizona, the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation devised the Central Arizona Project to tap this roaring river. In 1950 and again in 1951, the plan passed the Senate despite vehement objections from California, which stood to lose some of the precious Colorado River water it is accustomed to drain away. Goldwater, by then a Phoenix city councilman, flew to Washington as a volunteer lobbyist for the CAP.

After a heated fight, California won the day. The House Interior Committee refused to budge on CAP until Arizona could obtain a Supreme Court determination of its rights in the Colorado River. For more than eleven years, the case of *Arizona* vs. *California* dragged through court hearings. Finally Arizona won the right to 2.8 million



acre-feet of water, the amount it had claimed from the beginning. On June 4 of last year, the day after the Supreme Court order, Hayden and Goldwater introduced S. 1658, the Central Arizona Project bill.

Does Public Power Corrupt?

The plan itself is grandiose in conception and elaborate in design. Water is to be taken from the Colorado River near the existing Parker Dam on the California border, pumped to a height of 985 feet, and then channeled downhill 219 miles toward Phoenix through a concrete-lined trench fifteen feet deep. From that point four more pumping plants, 191 miles of aqueduct, 6.3 miles of canals, three large dams with extensive lakes, and complexes of distribution pipes are necessary to bring water to the housewife's tap and the irrigation lines.

This giant siphon will cost the U.S. taxpayers some $600 million. According to reclamation policy, nearly all of this must be returned to the Treasury in project earnings over a fifty-year period, with interest. However, income from the sale of water at reasonable rates would be woefully insufficient to repay these funds. How then can this magnificent reclamation project pay for itself?

Public power is the way to do it. Some 252 miles up the Colorado River in the other direction from the water diversion point, the government will erect the Bridge Canyon Dam, a thin-arch concrete structure towering 740 feet above bedrock. It will be the highest dam in the Western Hemisphere, creating a gigantic lake and backing up the water behind it for 93 river miles into almost inaccessible gorges and river beds of the Grand Canyon. When the floodgates are opened, the falling water will actuate six huge turbines and generators to produce enormous quantities of government power. Bridge Canyon is designed to produce 5.8 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity a year, more than three times as much power as the pumping job will require. The excess would be sold to finance both the irrigation and hydroelectric operations. As if this were not enough, the Senate Interior Committee recently added a second large power dam at Marble Canyon, 198 miles farther up the Colorado, to produce 2.25 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity annually. Under this plan, which has been endorsed by the Arizona co-sponsors, the new dam would provide enough power (1.85 billion kilowatt-hours) to run the pumping operation in the other part of the project. This means that power equal to the entire output of the Bridge Canyon Dam will be available for revenue to repay the investment and provide regional development funds.

In other circumstances Goldwater has sounded a resonant alarm bell against the "insidious" growth of of public power. "Government is constantly moving in on you," he informed the Edison Electric Institute, an organization that needed little notification of the fight between private and public power. That was in 1959, when Arizona's claim to the waters of the Colorado was still being processed at a snail's pace by the Supreme Court, and Goldwater preferred to speak of other perils. "There was a time," he told the private-power men, "when the vehicle used for government competition and expansion was hydroelectric development; but that time has passed. You now have the atom. That puts the threat of a government power plant in any area, be it Maine or Chicago."

SINCE the high court ruled that Arizona can have its water, Goldwater has rarely, if ever, dwelt on the dangers from hydroelectric expansion. Even in the case of TVA, he explained on "Meet the Press" this January, he has "no complaint" with "selling the power from falling water." On the other hand, he said that the kilowatts generated in coal-burning steam plants to "provide cheap power for the people in the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

South" are another matter. "I don't buy it."

Comparisons between TVA and the Central Arizona Project began to be made as long ago as 1955, when editor W. R. Mathews of the *Arizona Daily Star* wrote that if TVA is "socialistic," then so are the Salt River Project and CAP. A modest portion of Goldwater's time since then has been absorbed in writing letters and public statements to explain away such misconceptions. TVA and CAP "are not at all related," he declared last November 6 in reply to a Washington *Post* editorial entitled "Sauce for the Goose." Goldwater explained that "TVA, as far as power and fertilizer are concerned, is entirely a proprietary business undertaking. It is producing and merchandising a commodity, heavily subsidized by Federal investment and exempted from Federal taxes that eighty per cent of the people in the United States purchasing a similar commodity have to pay for. The Central Arizona Project is truly a reclamation development."

One of the objectionable features of TVA, he explained later, is the duplication he believes results from its co-ordinated control of numerous activities normally assigned to different agencies and boards of the Federal government. By contrast, he observed: "In many regional resource development activities such as flood control, navigation and irrigation . . . the Federal government must work with the states and other levels of government. This is true of irrigation work in the West—and is why I support the Central Arizona Project for irrigation in my state."

Despite the many differences between TVA and CAP, limited yardsticks are available. Under the Hayden-Goldwater CAP bill, the project must repay to the Treasury about ninety-five per cent of the estimated $1.1 billion in construction costs, plus annual interest at a specially computed government long-term rate (currently 3.125 per cent). The money would be paid to the Treasury over fifty years.

The burdens of TVA are somewhat different. In 1959, Congress ordered it to repay to the Treasury $1 billion of the $1.2 billion that had been appropriated for power facilities. These repayments are to be completed by 2015. The annual interest charge is equal to the average cost of the Treasury's marketable obligations. This year its rate is 3.659 per cent, somewhat higher than that which CAP would have to pay. TVA is also required by law to pay five per cent of its private-power revenues to state and local governments in lieu of taxes. TVA is now Tennessee's largest taxpayer, but there is no requirement that CAP pay any state or local taxes at all.

Barry's Watered-down Principles

In the recent maneuverings over CAP, Senator Carl Hayden, Goldwater's eighty-six-year-old Democratic colleague, has assumed the lion's share of the leadership. Now stooped and wizened, Hayden came to Washington as the congressman from Arizona in 1912, when Arizona became a state, and has served in the Senate since 1927. The Central Arizona Project has been the dream of his life. Were it not for CAP, friends have said, Hayden might not have run for re-election in 1962.

Two years ago Goldwater relinquished his seat on the Interior Committee—normally the most highly prized committee assignment for a Western senator—to take a vacancy on Armed Services. To protect the CAP, Hayden promptly arranged to be assigned to a vacancy on Interior. Though a "new man" on the committee and supposedly one of its junior members, Hayden is in fact a major power. No one forgets that he is also president pro tempore of the Senate or, much more important, the chairman of the immensely powerful Senate Appropriations Committee. "The old man has done more favors than anybody in Congress," says an informed observer. "Plenty of Democratic senators would dearly love to cut back Arizona projects to give Barry a taste of what he preaches. They don't dare try it because of Carl Hayden."

Despite Goldwater's continuing preoccupation with his own political fortunes, he has been careful to preserve at all times the appearance of full participation in the battle for CAP. This April, for example, he dropped five days from his crowded primary campaign schedule in Oregon to return to Washington to sit in on the Interior Committee hearings as a privileged observer. Inside the committee, he questioned witnesses and made several pleas for support of the program.

According to Goldwater, the justification for CAP goes beyond the narrow bounds of economics—because it is a project that involves people: "One and a half million Arizonians . . . are not just a statistic." At one point he asserted that six civilizations have perished in his part of the Southwest for lack of water: "The future of Arizona depends to a great extent on the completion of the Central Arizona Project and without this source of water, it is entirely possible that Arizonians may some day find themselves in the same predicament as civilizations before them which were forced from the land through lack of water."

DURING the pre-primary campaign in California, Nelson Rockefeller informed Republican voters that Goldwater was trying to steal their water for Arizona in a "narrow, self-interest, one-state approach to a major regional problem." Goldwater did not try to explain, nor did he waver. Through it all he has remained steadfast, despite the obvious danger to both his immediate political objectives and his national reputation as a dedicated conservative. In his scale of values, the Central Arizona Project seems to transcend all his theories of *laissez faire*. His grandfather, "Big Mike" Goldwater, did not cross the desert country in a wagon train for them, and it was not conservatism that furnished the water and power to transform Phoenix from a wasteland.

About noon on April 20, after a heated session of the Interior Committee in which California attorneys argued incessantly against CAP, the senator emerged, disgusted, to meet the press outside. "They want everything, as usual," he reported bitterly. "They haven't changed in forty years." When a newsman reminded him that at the very moment he was asking for the support of Californians in his quest for the Presidential nomination, he paused for only an instant. Then he answered back with the bluntness that has marked his rise in American politics. "I don't give a damn," he said. "I live in Arizona."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Air Around Us

C. W. GRIFFIN, Jr.

LATE last October a stagnant mass of warm, moist air hung over the New York metropolitan region. Smoke plumes flattened near the ground and merged with the ubiquitous haze. On several mornings, a thick smog reduced visibility and stretched normal traffic jams well into mid-morning, as motorists, their eyes smarting, inched through the atmospheric soup.

By the fourth day, the pollutant counts had approached hazardous levels, causing the U.S. Public Health Service to issue an "air-pollution warning" for the entire New York area. Powerless to enforce its alert, the PHS could only urge united action among the hundreds of local governments surrounding New York City, while Arthur J. Benline, the city's Air Pollution Control Commissioner, renewed his perennial plea for the creation of an emergency regional warning unit empowered to ban nonessential traffic, open fires, and polluting industrial operations.

On the fifth day, a cold air mass from the northwest carried away most of the contaminants, restoring metropolitan air to its normal state of merely heavy pollution. The timely advent of the cold front, according to some health authorities, saved New York from a disastrous smog incident similar to a 1953 episode that accounted for some two hundred deaths. But as the metropolitan area awaits the next air-pollution alert, its local governments still remain unconvinced of the need for action on a regional basis.

Though apathy is the usual reaction to the problem, one state recently won a crucial technical battle in its long war against air pollution. In June, after a five-year research and testing program, California officials approved four types of afterburners for compulsory installation on all 1966-model automobiles. They plan to approve similar devices for used cars in time to start compulsory installations within two years.

Despite the expected cost of about $40 a year to the motorist, California had little choice in requiring these afterburner smog-control devices. Automobiles are the chief source of smog in California, and their proliferation is outpacing population growth. Just keeping Los Angeles habitable through the next decade will require a massive effort against automobile fumes.

ALREADY a worldwide problem, air pollution accompanies expanding industry and the trend toward urban living. From such diverse sources as automobiles, apartment buildings, steel mills, and even hospitals come pollutants in bewildering variety. They often cause changes in the local climate, reducing the beneficial ultraviolet radiation of the sun. They can dissolve nylon stockings, darken house paint overnight, corrode metal, and disintegrate stonemasonry. They can damage or kill vegetable and animal organisms, including man.

Primarily an urban problem, air pollution today afflicts more than seven thousand urban areas inhabited by 115 million Americans. And as our cities grow, air pollution grows at an even faster rate. With its myriad sources and photochemically produced irritant gases, today's air pollution is harder to control than the older forms of industrial pollution. In the 1940's, St. Louis and Pittsburgh rebelled against the traditional tolerance of smoke and soot

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the price of "prosperity." By prohibiting the sale of bituminous coal containing more than twenty per cent volatile matter, these cities rid themselves of soot-laden atmospheres capable of creating darkness at noon. An increasing supply of cleaner fuels—high-grade oil and natural gas—has brightened the air of many cities. But the invisible, sometimes odorless gases that foul today's air can and do pose a greater hazard than the smoke-darkened air of old industrial centers.

BASICALLY there are two kinds of smog. The first is composed chiefly of sulfur dioxide gas and smoke released from the burning of bituminous coal and low-grade or residual fuel oil. The second type consists mainly of gaseous hydrocarbons released from petroleum refineries, organic solvent industries, and motor vehicles. London, of course, is the prime example of the highly lethal sulfur-compound smog, whereas Los Angeles exemplifies the hydrocarbon variety; the polluted air of most cities lies somewhere in the chemical spectrum between these polar extremes. Suspended in fog, coal smoke gives London a true sulfur-dioxide smog, whose lethality has been well publicized. But New York City, its air polluted with effluents from residual heating oils, records average sulfur dioxide counts approaching London's and has escaped catastrophic killer-smog incidents only because of its superior atmospheric ventilation.

The virulence of Los Angeles' smog stems from the very meteorological factors that give southern California its superb mild climate. Warm air, trapped in the basin bounded on three sides by mountains, often hangs over the city. When it is warmer than the air at ground level (a condition known as thermal inversion), this stagnant air mass becomes a transparent lid, preventing the rise and dispersion of the contaminants. Sunlight then "cooks" the hydrocarbon by-products of incomplete combustion, converting them into noxious polluting gases and vapors that sting eyes, hamper breathing, scorch vegetables, and embrittle rubber. Low-altitude temperature inversions, common throughout the United States, create this photochemical smog in at least nineteen states plus the District of Columbia. Los Angeles' smog differs more in frequency than in severity from that of most large U.S. cities.

At its worst, air pollution is demonstrably lethal. The killer smog that covered London with intense sulfur dioxide pollutants for four days in December, 1962, took 750 lives. But the toll was low compared with the four thousand deaths attributed to that city's five-day killer smog of 1952.

Perhaps the most thoroughly studied air-pollution incident occurred in Donora, Pennsylvania, sixteen years ago. Located in the western industrial zone of the state, Donora occupies a mountainous basin at a bend in the Monongahela River. Blast furnaces and a zinc-reduction plant pumped smoke and fumes into Donora's atmosphere. In October, 1948, a stagnant, fog-laden air mass covered the basin. Seventeen persons died in a four-day period that normally would have recorded two deaths, and nearly half of Donora's 14,000 citizens suffered from smarting eyes, dripping noses, coughs, sore throats, shortness of breath, nausea, or diarrhea. More than ten per cent suffered from orthopnea, the inability to breathe except in an upright position. When three out of five autopsies disclosed acute lung irritation, U.S. Public Health Service researchers concluded that the chief causes of the Donora tragedy were sulfur dioxide, which reached the extremely high range of 0.5 to 2 parts per million, and its oxidation products.

Free Air, Free Poison

Although less dramatic than the killer smogs, the long-range hazards of ordinary air pollution have become a source of growing concern among health officials. An accumulating mountain of circumstantial evidence has linked air pollution with the common cold, asthma, pneumonia, tuberculosis, influenza, chronic bronchitis, pulmonary emphysema, and lung cancer. At the last National Conference on Air Pollution, the chairman of a panel of medical experts concluded: "The evidence that air pollution contributes to the pathogenesis of chronic respiratory diseases is overwhelming."

Paralleling the calamitous, well-publicized increase in lung cancer, which cannot be attributed solely to cigarettes, is a rise in two commonly associated respiratory diseases—chronic bronchitis and pulmonary emphysema, both characterized by chronic coughing and difficulty in breathing. They usually run a prolonged and undramatic course, often ending in heart failure. Emphysema entails a breaking down of the tiny air sacs in the lungs, a process that lowers their oxygen-absorbing efficiency and forces the heart to pump harder. The accompanying constriction of the bronchial tubes aggravates the illness.

Some ten million Americans suffer from pulmonary emphysema, according to chest surgeon Ernest E. Rockey. Its national death rate increased more than four times between 1950 and 1959. Though fatal in proportionally fewer cases than lung cancer, pulmonary emphysema accounted for sixteen thousand deaths in 1959. But as a contributory cause of death, it outranks lung cancer. As a basis for Social Security disability payments from serious illness, it ranks second only to arteriosclerotic heart disease.

Some medical authorities are convinced that air pollution initiates as well as aggravates bronchitis-emphysema. Studies of a hundred bronchitis-emphysema patients at the University of California's School of Medicine showed that breathing pure air brought remarkable improvement in the patients' lung performance.

Probably the most clear-cut evidence linking air pollution with high death rates from respiratory disease is a recent mortality study sponsored by the PHS and Vanderbilt University. The locale was Nashville, Tennessee, whose residents are exposed to concentrations of benzpyrene (a carcinogenic by-product of coal burning) equivalent to smoking two packs of cigarettes a day. The researchers discovered that the death rates from major respiratory disease, notably tuberculosis, influenza, and pneumonia, were sixty-four per cent higher (123 per 100,000 vs. 75 per 100,000) in the city's most highly polluted sections than in the slightly or moderately polluted sections.

That air pollution inflicts tremen-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dous economic losses on the nation is even more obvious than its harmful effects on health. President Kennedy, in his 1963 health message, estimated the total national losses at $11 billion a year. But even this estimate is somewhat conservative, for it cannot include all the less tangible economic costs, such as the time lost from work because of pollution-caused illness.

Corrosion is a particularly costly consequence of air pollution. Sulfur dioxide, the culprit blamed for disintegrating nylon stockings, reacts chemically with moisture to form sulfuric acid, which eats away metal roofs, eaves, downspouts, and other exposed metals, and even attacks building stone and statuary.

NOWHERE in the United States, of course, have the health hazards and economic problems of air pollution been joined more dramatically than in Los Angeles. During the Second World War, industry and population grew rapidly there, and in September, 1943, the city experienced its first smog-caused daylight dimout. Within a year the hazy blue smog had become a regular visitor, lingering sometimes for days.

The ensuing public outcry ignited a blaze of activity, but the fragmented political organization of the Los Angeles basin blocked effective action. Finally, in October, 1947, through enabling legislation by the state, Los Angeles County created its Air Pollution Control District (APCD), which soon began to crack down on suspected offenders.

The APCD's first target was industry. Covers went on oil refineries' storage tanks to prevent escape of volatile petroleum products. A steel mill spent millions on electrostatic precipitators for its furnaces. Salvagers could no longer burn old automobile bodies. But the total effect was almost undetectable. As population and industry continued to grow, the smog grew worse.

Los Angeles' smog-control officials fought their next battle against homeowner trash burners. Every day 1.5 million backyard incinerators loosed five hundred tons of pollutants, one-sixth of the total, into the Los Angeles atmosphere. The battle against homeowners soon degenerated into a lengthy war of attrition, and it was not until October, 1957, that backyard trash burning was finally outlawed.

Obviously, the rest of the nation is far behind Los Angeles County in air-pollution control. In 1961, only seventeen states spent as much as $5,000 annually. Collectively, the fifty states spend about $2.2 million a year, of which more than half is spent by California. Some states have failed to grant their local governments the necessary authority to regulate polluting offenders. And even by a generous definition of enforcement, only six states enforce air-pollution regulations.

Local agencies do somewhat better. In 1961 they spent about $8 million across the nation. But Los Angeles County's budget accounted for $3.4 million of this. Thus, despite the cities' improvement over the states' efforts, the over-all picture portrays failure. According to a U.S. Senate Committee on Public Works report, ". . . most control programs are operating on a more or less arbitrary approach which tends to equate the acceptable with the readily attainable."

Until enactment of the Clean Air Act last December, the Federal government's role in smog control was limited mainly to air sampling, research, and technical assistance. The Federal program began in 1955, after the smog in Los Angeles had reached hazardous levels and polluted air had begun to plague other cities. By 1963, Federal expenditures for air-pollution programs had climbed to $11 million annually. But still lacking after nine years and expenditures of $41 million are definitive Federal standards like the California State Board of Public Health standards establishing hazardous levels of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxides, hydrocarbons, and other air-borne pollutants.

The Clean Air Act promises to invigorate the previously passive Federal program, granting new powers and responsibilities to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. For the first time, the Federal government will award grants-in-aid to state and local control units. HEW will focus research on two major unsolved pollution problems: motor-vehicle exhausts, which plague all cities in varying degree, and sulfur-contaminated heating fuels, which have created especially serious problems in New York City and Chicago. The act also gives the Federal government limited enforcement power, mainly in cases involving interstate pollution.

The Spreading Cloud

Although pollution from all sources tends to increase with population growth, the automobile appears to be the nation's chief polluter, outranking industry, commercial and municipal refuse incineration, and domestic sources. Gordon P. Larson, former chief of the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District, asserts that in every major U.S. urban area, automobiles contribute at least as much pollution as all other sources combined.

The PHS Air Pollution Division experts take a more cautious view, citing the extreme variation in pollutant sources in different cities. In Los Angeles, motor vehicles contribute about eighty per cent of the total pollutants; in Washington, D.C., they contribute about forty-five per cent; in New York, about thirty per cent; but in Louisville, where eighty-five per cent of the pollution is ascribed to its coal-burning industries, motor vehicles contribute only about five per cent. (If carbon monoxide were included in these counts, the automobiles' contribution would be much higher.)

Naturally, one reason for the wide variation in pollutant sources is the varying degree of municipal control of industry, domestic, and other stationary sources. As the nation's exemplar in all phases of control, Los Angeles has brought control of stationary sources close to the limit of present technology. Some 10,500 industrial control devices, costing more than $100 million, keep nearly five thousand tons of contaminants out of the air every day. Power plants contribute a daily total of 250 tons, about two per cent of the 11,300 tons spewed into the air by the county's 3.5 million motor vehicles. Yet even with this degree of control, Los Angeles' officials are still trying to reduce power-plant emissions by requiring natural-gas fuels instead of oil.

In dismal contrast, some cities have not succeeded in banning the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

burning of residual oil, a cheap, sulfur-contaminated fuel used to heat apartment buildings, office towers, municipal facilities, and even public and private hospitals. To reduce the quantity of lethal sulfur compounds in the air, the New York City Air Pollution Control Board recently approved a regulation, proposed by Commissioner Benline and opposed by the heating-oil industry, to upgrade the oil burned in and by the city. As always, the question was whether cleaner, healthier air is worth the price—in this case a higher community fuel bill.

ALTHOUGH California's recent approval of the afterburners promises a breakthrough in controlling automobile pollution, little has actually been achieved, and California is the only state even trying. The one realized success is the crankcase blowby device, installed for about five dollars on 1962-model automobiles sold in California and on all 1963 and later models in the United States. The blowby returns gases from the crankcase to the combustion chambers for burning, thus reducing an automobile's hydrocarbon pollutant emissions by about twenty-five per cent. The rapid increase in California's automobile population, however, soon overcame this temporary gain, according to Smith Griswold, chief of the Los Angeles APCD. Moreover, to continue working effectively, these devices periodically require expert maintenance that they may not get.

Far more important are the afterburners. These devices, attached to the tailpipe, complete the combustion of unburned exhaust gases, the major source of auto pollutants. In conjunction with the blowby, an afterburner conforming to California's standards would theoretically eliminate about eighty per cent of the automobile's hydrocarbon emissions and sixty per cent of the carbon monoxide.

The rigorous standards set by California's Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board delayed approval of the afterburners for several years. To relieve the motorist of more than one maintenance check a year, the device had to operate without maintenance for twelve thousand miles. And the cost, including installation and annual maintenance, had to average about $40 a year to remain within the undue-burden limit established by the state.

At a recent MVPCB hearing, the most hopeful news ever to come from the automobile industry's desultory control program blackened the future of the afterburner program. In a sudden switch, the four major automobile manufacturers assured the MVPCB that they can produce new automobiles designed with economical, pollution-abating engine modifications to comply with state standards in time to meet next year's deadline. It is far from certain, however, that these redesigned engines will meet the MVPCB emission standards. If they don't, the MVPCB will doubtless encounter tremendous pressure to relax the standards. General Motors and Ford have already requested complete exemptions for some models, constituting about four per cent of their California sales.

Approval of these redesigned engines even under existing standards might prove a mixed blessing, for it could jeopardize the afterburner program for California's nine million used cars. The loss of the state's expanding new-car market might discourage afterburner manufacturers from competing for the larger but inevitably shrinking used-car market.

The Skeptical Optimists

The complexity of air-pollution control makes it particularly vulnerable to the opposition of those resolved to do nothing "until all the facts are in."

The latest invocation of this durable theme came from the Automobile Manufacturers Association, protesting proposals that California's pollutant emission standards be adopted on a national scale. Despite the abundant evidence of growing motor-vehicle pollution, an industry spokesman told a Senate subcommittee that "There is a surprising lack of factual information to warrant any such action on a national basis."

Fuel-industry spokesmen take a similarly obstructive view: ". . . we should be particularly cautious in ascribing or assuming a cause-and-effect relationship between air pollution and health," Jerry McAfee, a vice-president of Gulf Oil, told the latest National Conference on Air Pollution. To wait for irrefutable cause-effect proof could, of course, delay action forever. The assumption that each disease has a single, discrete cause, so fruitful in the etiology of communicable diseases, appears false in analyzing chronic diseases like bronchitis. Moreover, the theory that a public agency confronted with a community health hazard should proceed like a murder-trial jury, taking action only if the hazard is proved guilty beyond reasonable doubt, could have disastrous consequences. If the sanitation pioneers of the nineteenth century had postponed action on water purification and sewage treatment until they had irrefutable proof that filth causes disease, the world would have suffered untold thousands of unnecessary deaths. The etiological proof came many years after institution of the sanitation programs.

SINCE air masses conveying pollutants refuse to recognize political boundaries, effective smog control often demands regional enforcement. Even if New York City eradicated every source of pollution within its borders, prevailing westerly winds would still blow in contaminants from New Jersey's oil refineries, smoke-belching factories, and perpetually smoldering meadowland dumps. Chicago has a similar problem with neighboring Illinois and Indiana counties, which do little or nothing to control air pollution. Such hazards exist in most of the nation's interstate metropolitan regions, inhabited by forty million persons. But despite the obvious need, there is only one interstate air pollution control agency (the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Interstate Sanitation Commission), and it lacks enforcement power.

The abysmal failure of rural-dominated state legislatures to cope with the many instances of interstate pollution belatedly brought the Federal government into the enforcement picture via the Clean Air Act. Its compromised enforcement provision, however, permits at least one year's procrastination by an offending state before the Federal government can take judicial action.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Furthermore, quite a few state governments, with plenty of company in Congress, oppose Federal assistance in enforcing smog control.

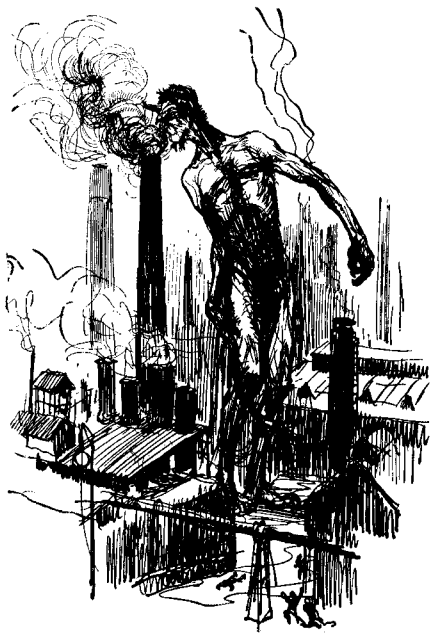
Though some industries co-operate, others do not. Ohio steel producers several years ago won either compromise or unconditional surrender from officials in Cleveland and Youngstown on ordinances requiring smoke controls for furnaces recently converted to the highly polluting oxygen-injection process.

Such experiences are not unusual. In 1947, when California was considering a bill authorizing the creation of local air-pollution control districts, the major oil companies unsuccessfully opposed the strong enforcement powers granted in the enabling legislation. Several years ago representatives of the Automobile Manufacturers Association paid a visit to the office of New York City's Department of Air Pollution Control to denounce the department's proposal to require the installation of crankcase blowby devices. Still the NAM insists that "Air pollution control cannot be achieved through an ordinance or statute; it is the result of the members of a community working together toward a common goal."

Tax on Pollution

The question of how to finance air-pollution control has yielded several proposals. One potentially effective enforcement tool is to tax the polluters for use of the public air supply as an atmospheric sewer, just as one pays a tax or fee for use of a municipal sewer line. Such a tax of about $25 a ton for exhausting sulfur dioxide or dust was suggested at the 1962 national conference. If used to finance smog-control programs, these taxes would have several advantages, apart from the inherent equity of making the polluters themselves pay. In addition, the tax would tend to goad offenders into cleaning up and, as pollution grows, would automatically increase the funds to combat it.

Few if any control programs incorporate these principles. Fines are either set too low or imposed too sparingly to prod offenders. Penalties collected by New York City in 1963 totaled only $35,600, or less than four per cent of the Air Pollution Control Department's $800,000 annual operating expense. Though the situation is improving, according to Commissioner Benline, some judges still do not recognize the gravity of air pollution and coddle offenders liable to fines up to $500. The maximum $100-a-day fine established in the Federal Clean Air Act for polluters who fail to file required reports will encourage big polluters to delay corrective action as long as possible. Since the cost of control equipment averages about one-quarter the cost of production equipment, an industry with over $2 million worth of production equipment might find it more economical to pay the $100-a-day fine indefinitely than to invest in control equipment.



Tax exemption on industrial control devices would encourage compliance with smog-control ordinances and reduce the handicap to public-spirited industrialists who must compete with those who foul the air. Only six states have any tax-abatement policy on smog-control equipment, and some of these merely allow rapid tax amortization. The new Federal tax law takes a tiny step in the right direction by doubling the seven per cent investment credit for pollution-control devices.

Motorists should also get an opportunity to pay for their major contribution to air pollution. Since the pollutants emitted by an automobile rise with increasing gasoline consumption, a surtax on gasoline would conform with the principle of taxing polluters as a fair way to finance part of state and local control programs.

THOUGH the methods of financing air-pollution control are still open to debate, the need for more drastic control is not. Conservative projections of the present growth rate indicate a total U.S. population above 250 million by 1980, when the urban population of 200 million will be nearly seventy per cent greater than today's. From this tendency to congregate in sprawling metropolitan regions springs a spiraling problem beyond control by conventional methods. Costly smokestacks over six hundred feet high to disperse contaminating effluents are becoming less and less effective with the expansion of inhabited areas. As the tentacles of urban growth advance into the countryside and urban sprawl fills in the vanishing open space, industrial zoning also becomes less effective. Accompanying a thirty per cent population increase by 1980 will be a fifty per cent increase in the number of cars, to a total of one hundred million. Since traffic volume will double or triple in outlying areas, pollution from automobile exhausts will rise most rapidly in the suburbs.

From such ominous projections, Dr. Helmut E. Landsberg, the U.S. Weather Bureau's Director of Climatology, concludes that most of our present pollution-control programs, even if successful, are only interim palliatives. Long-range solutions must entail large-scale electrification of heating and city transit systems. We have already begun planning large power plants in remote areas, connected to distant urban centers by high-voltage, long-distance power transmission lines. But without some unforeseen revolution in automobile-engine design, the sheer growth in traffic may force us to challenge the right of commuting motorists to drive their air-contaminating cars whenever and wherever they please. While such a proposal is admittedly extreme, it underlines the threat. The longer we postpone the inevitable massive struggle for clean air, the greater the cost in lives, health, and money.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Industry Dons Sock and Buskin

ALAN LEVY

Once you have paid your two dollars' admission at the World's Fair, the best things in life are free. The most sparkling musical comedy I've witnessed this year has been out in Flushing Meadow. Forty times a day, twelve troupes of live actors team up with cartoons, films, and musicians to explore Du Pont's *Wonderful World of Chemistry*—from caveman to Corfam (a new product that will enable shoes to breathe better).

The show is a cinch to run 14,600 performances by the Fair's end next year. And, if you are willing to wait on lines that sometimes attain Radio City Music Hall proportions, you will be admitted to a forty-five-minute entertainment synthesizing the virtues of *Singin' in the Rain, Dr. No,* and *The Threepenny Opera.* The obligatory trench-coat number can scarcely be sidestepped, but when Boy Meets Girl beneath gloomy skies, they dance in Dacron and sing wittily of Corfam. In an enormous laboratory, a band plays cool jazz while three "chemists" freeze a flower in Freon. For social comment, Lavoisier goes to the guillotine. His young apprentice, however, keeps his head, flees to the New World, and saves chemistry from the excesses of the radical Left. The plucky lad's name? E. I. du Pont de Nemours.

Wonderful World of Chemistry was written, composed, produced, and directed by Michael Brown (a frequent contributor to Manhattan cabaret revues), whose Michael Brown Enterprises, Inc., is just one of more than a hundred industrial-show producers registered with Actors Equity. "Industrial shows and the hootenannies," said *Variety,* "are probably the most thriving forms of show business right now."

Variety's explanation was, "There's no biz without show biz." Last year, big business spent at least four times as much money on *its* show business as Broadway angels spent on theirs. With the World's Fair, this ratio may rise. In fact—despite front-page crises involving garbage, money, and pickets—the Fair's most agonizing and chronic headache has been the inability of its commercial amusement-area shows to woo a public that hearkens only to the corporate voice. Early in the Fair, two major amusement attractions folded abruptly. The impresario of one explained: "Big business has been selling its products at the Fair through entertainment, and for free. They beat us at our own game."

Because the public is welcome, purists contend that nothing at the Fair is truly an industrial show. Traditionally, this flourishing arm of the fabulous invalid points directly and exclusively at specialized audiences that make massive buying and selling decisions. Last year, Owens-Corning Fiberglas invested $450,000 in a stage-and-film presentation—featuring a tour of Lincoln Center conducted by Joseph Cotten—that reached architects, builders, and contractors in twenty cities. The Shubert Brothers of the field, however, are the people at Coca-Cola Export Corporation, with as many as thirty-one road companies dramatizing the virtues of purity and good refrigeration to bottlers in Miami, London, Paris, Rome, Amsterdam, and Brisbane.

When the purpose of an industrial show (which an Actors Equity official defined as "an elongated commercial with some live talent") is strictly to inspire *selling* enthusiasm, the message grows brassy and tacky. *"Perk up those palefaces with oats,"* John Q. (for Quaker) Smith tells Pocahontas as their captive audience cheers. *"There's only one champ in the Copy Hall of Fame/And Xerox, Xerox, no one else but Xerox, Xerox is the name,"* a live singer croons at field managers assembled in Rochester to meet a new machine.

Industrial shows are a constant tug-of-war between entertainment and information. Whether they inform enough or entertain enough to justify their budgets no longer seems to bother their sponsors. One of them told me: "After a year or two of doing a show, you can't just stop. It becomes a fixture—like expense-account entertaining and paying for free plugs on television and all the other intangibles we call 'good will.' Besides, it just seems to help everybody's self-esteem to know that Kim Novak or Florence Henderson is on the same payroll and out there pitching for the product." Thus, industrial shows seldom operate in the kind of hit-or-flop economy that prevails on Broadway. Their runs are predictable, their futures assured. A real "bomb" of an industrial show (one that costs twice its budget or an auto unveiling in which the car falls through the stage) will merely result in a change of producers the next year.

"In many ways," said the producer of Campbell's *Ballad of Soup du Jour,* "our business is like that of Broadway and Hollywood. We both use talent, scenes, lighting effects, and words and music. But the result is strikingly different. When Hollywood and Broadway provide entertainment, the curtain falls and then people go home and go to bed. When our curtain falls, the real show has just started. People get up, go out, and go to work."

Because tired businessmen start work in the morning, the bizarre curtain times (as early as 7 A.M.) often prove a boon to some of the two thousand stage actors a year who work in industrials. An otherwise unemployed performer can do a skit for Dictaphone, take a bow, and then make the casting rounds. A more fortunate industrial trouper can "moonlight" on Broadway. In either event, the Actors Equity minimum for industrials is some $75 a week higher than for legitimate theatre.

"It's good money, but we earn it," said a performer with twenty-five industrial credits. "We're frequently underrehearsed and we have to memorize material of a highly technical nature—about differential gears or passenger miles per annum. Sometimes we go on stage with parts

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You get the real in the news at half price . . .

Only $3.50 for one year of THE REPORTER

You get the real "extra" in the news when you read The Reporter because The Reporter does not simply print the bare bones of the news or repeat the headlines. It digs up the missing facts to make the story whole. It clarifies and puts into perspective the complex issues. And of course, as this copy of The Reporter proves, it always gives you the color, the comedy and the drama of the world we live in.

You can't fail to get *more* out of the news with writers like these:

Max Ascoli
Dean Acheson
Meg Greenfield
Henry A. Kissinger
Edmond Taylor
A. H. Raskin
Roland Gelatt
Claire Sterling
Gouverneur Paulding
Daniel A. Schorr
A. A. Berle, Jr.
George Bailey
Gore Vidal
Alfred Kazin
General Thomas R. Phillips
George Steiner
Robin White
Nat Hentoff
Elaine Kendall
Robert Bendiner
Lois Phillips Hudson

Less than a penny a day!

is all it costs to enjoy the kind of writing and reporting only The Reporter offers. Remember, you pay ONLY $3.50 FOR 24 ISSUES (ONE YEAR).

You can also take advantage of this special offer to introduce your friends to The Reporter. Charge the subscriptions if you like—we'll be glad to bill you later.

Your subscription—or your friends'—will begin as soon as we receive your order. So start enjoying The Reporter at half price now—mail the reply card opposite today!

Regular Rates: 1 year $7, 2 years $11, 3 years $14
(Add $1 per year for foreign postage, $.50 per year for Canada and Pan American Union.)

THE REPORTER

660 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the script pasted on purses and written on sleeves." In addition to supporting hundreds of talented unknowns, industrial shows have employed such magnets as Carol Burnett, Jane Powell, Nancy Walker, Ray Bolger, Bob Hope, Danny Kaye, Tommy Sands, Richard Tucker, and Maurice Evans—although some producers feel that stars detract from product.

Best of all for actors, the peak season is summertime, when Broadway is moribund but Detroit is preparing to unveil its new-model cars for dealers across the nation. The touring auto shows rehearse under maximum security; new body wrinkles and triple headlights are top secret. Armed guards patrol the aisles. Performers wear I.D. badges. Sometimes they are even required to sign loyalty oaths.

The auto shows are the loudest and funniest of all industrials, as two sample lyrics may indicate. One is an original ballad of assembly-line love that goes:

I'm nuts about you, nuts about you.
We're bolted to the chassis of love.

The other borrows from the Gershwins:

I got beauty!
I got styling!
I got sweet lines!
Who could ask for anything more?

The most resourceful showmen of all work for Ford. They dispatch a "folk and jazz wingding" to the annual spring riots in Florida. College students attending the free show are given raffle tickets on which they fill in their college and home-town addresses and approximate dates when they'll be ready to buy their next cars. This information is relayed to Ford dealers in home and college towns. Or, at a sales meeting in Honolulu, the New Christy Minstrels will serenade dealers with this adaptation of "Camptown Races":

Ford's Country Squire! Ford's Country Squire!
A passel of folks can occupy her,
The new Ford Country Squire.

Glittering irony was achieved last summer by Oldsmobile. *Bells Are Ringing,* a Broadway vehicle for Judy Holliday, was entirely rewritten and Miss Holliday was replaced as its star by a vehicle. At the climax, scenery and singers melted away and there—swathed in lights on a revolving stage—stood the 1964 Oldsmobile. The magic moment, as essential to auto shows as horses are to Westerns, is known in the trade as the "reveal." Properly done, it can make even the most cynical pedestrian weep.

ANOTHER warm-weather staple is the preview of fall fashions and fabrics. Since security clearances for these are easy to obtain, I decided to seek a behind-the-scenes reveal on the *Milliken Breakfast Show.* I had read in *Newsweek's* "Spotlight on Business" that:

"During the June buyers' season in New York's garment center—a make-or-break time for the volatile industry—Deering Milliken for ten years has staged one of the finest industrial shows going. More than 80 per cent of all buyers consider the show a must. . . . 'Milliken is like the Yankees,' said another textile producer."

The eleventh annual *Milliken Breakfast Show* would co-star Bert Lahr and 202 garments. It would run for three weeks in the Waldorf-Astoria's Grand Ballroom. Curtain time would be 8 A.M., after a 7:15 serving of orange juice, bacon and eggs, doughnuts, and coffee. Upon making overtures to Milliken, a chain of thirty-eight mills in the South and Maine, I was rewarded with a ticket to the champagne premiere at the Waldorf and an invitation to come up to the company's New York sales office for lunch and a briefing.

Inside Milliken's eight-story building, a block east of the Metropolitan Opera House, is an opulent showroom called Fashion Fourth. Here, the *Breakfast Show's* most critical "casting sessions" were held last winter. Some 1,500 visitors ("the real influentials of the industry") had shopped for the basic Milliken fabrics that would be used in their fall designs. Placing an order in the tens of thousands of yards guaranteed that the garment made from it would be featured in the *Breakfast Show.*

My briefing was mercifully brief: first, a color slide of hungry *Breakfast Show*-goers queueing up at 6:45 A.M., and then a tape recording of one joke plus hearty laughter from last year's musical comedy. Finally, the rave notice from *Newsweek* was flashed on the screen while a recorded voice read it aloud with *March of Time* portentousness: "Milliken—is like—the Yankees!"

My lunch was with David Dickerson, Milliken's director of advertising, publicity, and promotion. He also supervises the eighteen Milliken employees who work full time on the *Breakfast Show* and co-ordinate with the outside talent. The association with show biz scarcely seemed to have rubbed off on Dickerson, a youthful, watchful, earnest executive.

This year's show, he told me, would have book and lyrics by the Broadway librettist Arnold B. Horwitt (*Plain and Fancy; Make Mine Manhattan*) and scenery by Will Steven Armstrong, designer for the Stratford, Connecticut, Shakespeare Festival. The director would be Gerald Freedman, whose credits include *The Gay Life* on Broadway, *West Side Story* at the New York City Center, and a memorable *Taming of the Shrew* at the New York Shakespeare Festival in Central Park.

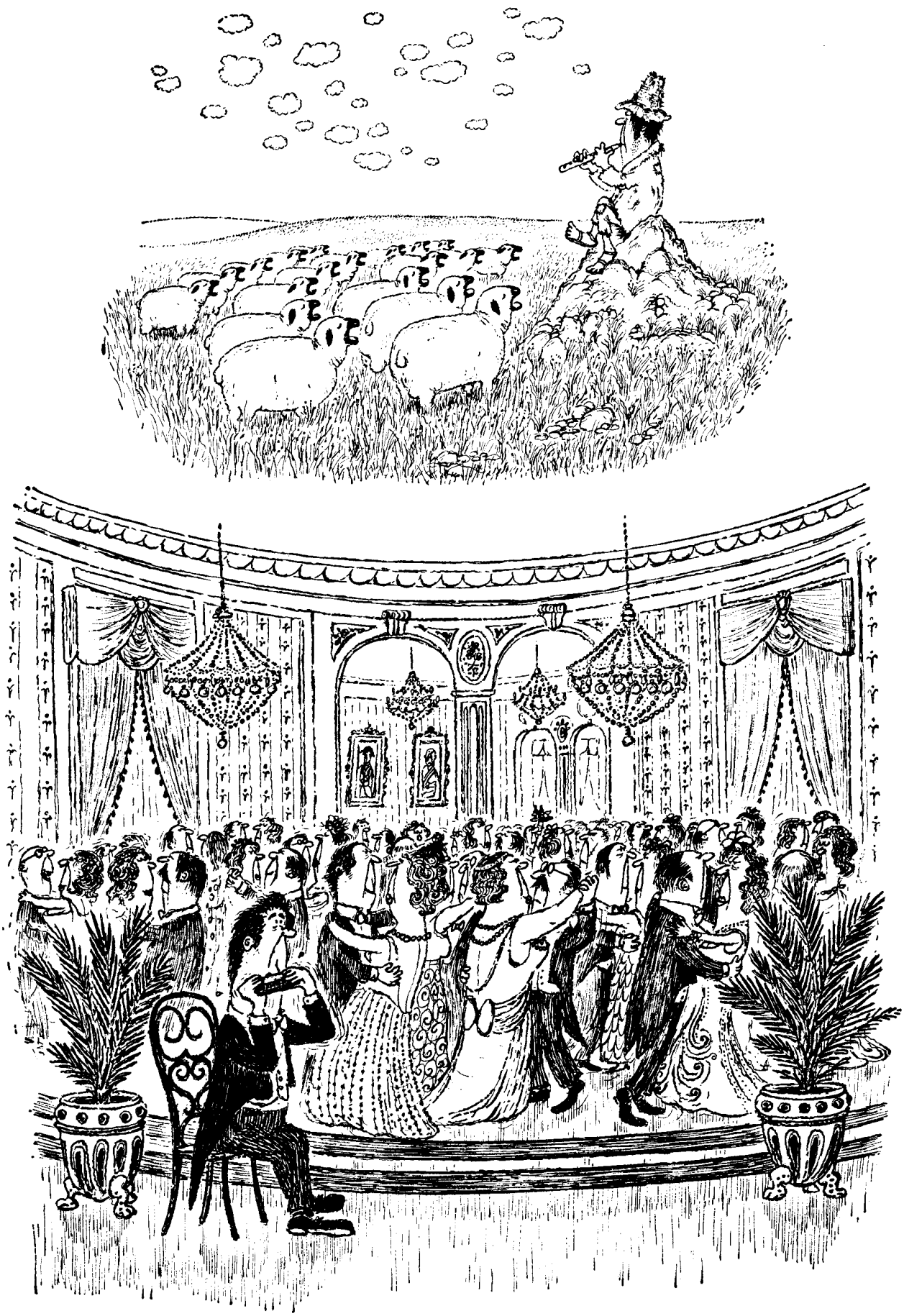
"Nothing but the best," Dickerson murmured as he sliced a tender cut of filet mignon. The show, he added, cost "in excess of half a million dollars" to produce.

"Show business and textiles have always seemed like a perfect match," said Dickerson. "So many textile people are backers of Broadway shows. And so many Broadway shows—*Seidman and Son* was the latest, I guess—are set in the garment industry. That's why we try to use show tunes as much as possible. We buy the rights to familiar songs and Mr. Horwitt puts lyrics to them. The music has to be familiar to our audience. We can't have people trying to assimilate a new song as well as the message.

"Our plots, however, are almost always original. They require a department-store setting in order to display all the dresses. Once, though, we tried an adaptation. We used a story about two rival department-store families. One of the families had a son and the other a daughter. They fell in love. The daughter's department-store setting in order to

Over hot apple pie and coffee, Dickerson told me that the *Milliken*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Virtuosity
by Fernando Krahn

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Breakfast Show is very un-Broadway in one respect: it makes it easy for its audience to attend.

Weeks in advance, invitations are mailed out to buyers. I.B.M. machines monitor acceptances and regrets; when an important buyer fails to respond, his invitation is followed up with a personal call. (The I.B.M. machinery also swallows lists of personnel and often thwarts the secretary impersonating a buyer.)

"The Waldorf has one built-in disadvantage," Dickerson went on. "It's on the East Side. Most of our audience stays at hotels on the West Side, near the garment district. As it is, we have to time our show very carefully, so the buyers can be out on the street and ready to buy at nine o'clock. And since they'd be reluctant to go crosstown on their own, we hired a fleet of twenty-five busses to transport them over to the Waldorf and then back to strategic points in the garment district."

With all this hospitality plus Bert Lahr plus the prospect of more Milliken food and refreshments, I began to count the days until the *Breakfast Show's* premiere. I shouldn't have. No show that bills itself as "a mild ribbing" will ever prove to be cut from the same cloth as *My Fair Lady*. Still, the Milliken show was funnier and far more melodic than its recent Broadway counterpart, *Here's Love*, which also had a department-store setting. Milliken's ingenue, Ursula Upright, had better lines and none of the psychosexual hangups that afflicted the heroine of *Here's Love*. As an employee at Hoodwinkle's, Ursula simply smiled bravely and mouthed such epigrams as "Can I help you, ladies, in my dress by Mindy Malone?" Above all, however, Milliken had Bert Lahr as Hoodwinkle—promoting a Before-the-Fire Sale; singing "Every Day Is Founder's Day with Me"; leering at a vamp named Hildegarde Hotstuff; and, ultimately, wearing a Beatle wig while proclaiming the virtues of horizontal stretch. In one important respect, the *Milliken Breakfast Show* incontrovertibly surpassed Broadway and the Beatles: all of its lyrics were audible.

From Ursula Upright and horizontal stretch, I moved on to a living monument. Jamison Handy, who pioneered the phenomenon of industrial show business fifty years ago, is now seventy-eight. I phoned the Jam Handy Organization in Detroit for an appointment with its founder. To my surprise, I was told that Mr. Handy was either in Omaha or on the West Coast that day, would be back in Baltimore or St. Louis the next day, and if I really wanted to catch him, I had better go to Detroit the following Thursday. I booked passage on the breakfast jet.

I had a canned biography that Handy's aides had sent along. It began: "Born 1886, Philadelphia. Father an Eastern newspaper editor who became one of organizers of 1893 Columbian World Exposition, Chicago. Permitted him to skip school to attend Exposition for a full school year, was impressed by power of visuals." It all seemed too pat, like an industrial morality play.

The Jam Handy Organization's clients today include General Motors and Coca-Cola. With some five hundred employees (who are called "members" to stimulate "personal involvement") and branches in New York, Chicago, and Hollywood, it is almost certainly the largest in its field. Nevertheless, its headquarters in Detroit is a motley array of a dozen low-slung buildings strewn along both sides of East Grand Boulevard, near General Motors. The one for training aids was called the "Hands" building. Another was called the "Heart" building. The one that housed the writers, one of them told me, was known as the "Fanny" building. It was plastered with signs and slogans. "To Guard the Flow" was a recurrent reference to auto-model secrecy. "The Last Thing a Writer Should Do Is Write" simply meant that a writer should think out his material before writing.

Jam Handy has no office of his own. "I prefer to be an observer, a spectator, like our audiences. You get a different viewpoint behind a desk," he explained when we met in a vice-president's office. The vice-president added admiringly: "Mr. Handy has been known to squat in a dozen offices in several cities in one day." He maintains lockers (each with a change of clothes) at various athletic clubs across the country.

With his red face, his gleaming white hair, teeth, and shirt, and his blue suit and tie, Jam Handy came on like a Yankee Doodle Dandy. His delivery, too, was an old-time showman's:

"I'll tell you how I keep my vigor. Instead of eating lunch, I swim. A quarter to a half a mile. Swimming takes the blood out of the head and puts it into the muscles. It flushes the arteries, scavenges the lungs, oxygenates the blood, and revs up the heart. I don't care how long I live. The dimension I'm interested in is how well I live. Moses was my inspiration and he lived to be a hundred and twenty."

Jam Handy's autobiography has the overtones of a morality play. In the telling, each detail resonated like a Show Biz commandment being hammered into stone:

"I had two sisters, who tutored me. They taught me the Gettysburg Address. *It was all one or two syllable words.* I also set out to learn all the words in the dictionary. But before I got halfway, I found that most of them weren't any good for me because *most other people didn't know them.*"

Like De Mille, Jam Handy knew better than to spring the inevitable reveal too early in his tale. He evaded the magic moment when Our Hero Invents Industrial Biz As We Know It Today. Instead, more pageantry:

"Actually, the Greeks invented everything. Whatever they missed, the Romans took from there. Of course, when Nero was your sponsor, you had only one person to placate —or you'd get your head cut off. With corporations, it's different. . . ."

Ah, but wait! There was a sharper axiom to be honed from this same material. Jam Handy interrupted himself with a burst of Latin:

"*In medias res.* That's Virgil. It means 'to break into the middle of things.' In our business, you don't build up to the crisis; you start with it. If I ever meet Virgil or Sophocles or Euripides or Aeschylus in the after life, it'll be a day of reckoning for all the pilfering I've done from them."

There were Biblical as well as classical influences.

"We use Jesus' method of examples. His *like-unto's*. As a reader of

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Gospels, it struck me that His instructional methods provided a superb example."

In the interests of documentation, I later acquired a pamphlet, written by Jam Handy, elaborating on the analogy between his work and His:

"The Master, it seemed, spoke simply, using language which everybody knew, and consistently explained the unknown in terms of the familiar. He taught by correspondences, by parables, and analogies. He instructed by means of demonstrations. He asked questions—and answered questions.

"He dramatically used exhibits such as coins and little children. He worked with individuals singly and also with groups. He placed Himself in raised positions where assemblies could see Him easily as He spoke. He had a lot of difficult things to explain and He had dramatically realistic ways to explain them."

IN THE BEGINNING of his climactic reveal, Jam Handy, after working as a syndication and circulation manager for the Chicago *Tribune*, was engaged by the National Cash Register Company of Dayton. When he broke into the middle of things shortly before the First World War, he found problems of small business for National to solve:

"There were places in the Deep South where people felt it was irreligious for machines to add. Then there were people who did have cash registers, but relied on pencil arithmetic or, worse still, mental arithmetic. And there were people without cash registers and with serious trouble: clerks who were tempted to take advantage of the cash drawer; bosses who had a way of blaming any losses on the clerks."

Jam Handy's solution was a series of two-character playlets (he called them "act-its") performed by actual employees. In one, an irate boss constantly maligns an upright clerk. Enter a cash register. The clerk is saved by the bell—which "rings commandingly, causing all eyes in the store to look to the clerk, who can be seen rejoicing in his honesty."

So far as is known, nobody exclaimed "Eureka!" when that bell rang. But Jam Handy had latched onto a brand of modern alchemy. The rest is history. In 1922, Frigidaire mixed professional actors with amateurs in its capsule dramas. Shortly thereafter, Jam Handy took the 1924 Chevrolet on the road and displayed it in much the same manner that Flo Ziegfeld glorified the American girl. In 1935, Coca-Cola undertook an operetta in the style of Gilbert and Sullivan. Today, the annual American expenditure on industrial show business is $40 million (*Newsweek*) to $100 million (New York *Times*).

Success stories usually have morals. At the finale of his one-man show, Jam Handy sent me away with six last easy-to-remember commandments, F.O.B. Detroit:

"Our formula has been to boil the message down and handle it fast. The man who's sponsoring the show is usually paying his audience to attend, so it's the reverse of box office.

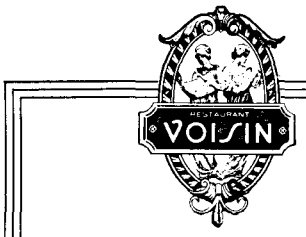
"We try to make education painless, pleasant to take, palatable. An industrial show is an entertainment for a group of people who need help as to their viewpoint, their attitude, what they don't know, and what they do know that ain't so.

"It must be produced on a level that will compete with the best entertainment that they can find elsewhere.

"It must contain more or less what the academicians call 'psychological projection'—situations in which audiences can find themselves.

"And, just like Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, it must show the weakness of the old model and the virtues of the new way of life—*without* being teachy.

"Finally, we place greater emphasis on comfort than Broadway does. For we have learned that the mind will absorb only as much as the seat will take."



Restaurant
Voisin
A dining tradition
for half a century

30 East 65th Street

•

Open every day
luncheon, cocktails, dinner

Reservations, Michel: LE 5-3800

Best value?
OUI!
Most useful?
CERTAINEMENT!

LAROUSSE
MODERN FRENCH-ENGLISH, ENGLISH-FRENCH DICTIONARY

Illustrated
1552 pages
Now only $7.50

McGraw-Hill

"THE NEW ENCYCLICAL *contains clear references to questions vexed by the enigmatic silence of Pope John. (How curious that, by and large, the same group of people who are busy condemning what they understood as the silence of Pius XII over the fate of the Jews under Hitler, acclaimed what they understood as the silence of Pope John over the fate of Christians and Jews under Khrushchev and Mao!)*"

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, send 25¢ to Dept. P-3, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Prospect of Delight

M. L. ROSENTHAL

COLLECTED POEMS, by Horace Gregory. *Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $5.*

"Do I have to prove that I can sell anything?" cries the indignant speaker in Horace Gregory's "Four Monologues from *The Passion of M'Phail.*" The speaker is very different from Horace Gregory himself, yet the rhetorical question might be rephrased to apply to the peculiar course of this poet's own career. I have long admired his work and wondered at its uncertain reputation, which glows from time to time and then seems to fade away. You would not think he had to prove anything—shouldn't anyone capable of simple delight in language find many of Gregory's lines unforgettable? The ones, for instance, about

> seeing a girl step, white and glittering
> as a fountain,
> into cool evening air,
> knowing you could not touch her,
> nor dare to still the floating.
> flawless motion
> of that pale dress above its glancing
> knees. . . .

Gregory's work is certainly acknowledged; see almost any good anthology, from Harriet Monroe's *The New Poetry* to the present day. Yet no poet of comparable distinction is less known to the general reader. The reasons are doubtless the self-evident ones. He belongs to no school or clique. His career both as writer and as teacher has involved a dauntless, even heroic struggle against ill health, and he has had no time, if he were so inclined, for those public readings by which reputations are sometimes enhanced. Amid all the noise of literary politics, he has worked quietly ahead, hardly noticed even when, from time to time, he does receive some award or honor.

His work is not in the least sensational or exhibitionistic. And now that he has brought out his *Collected Poems* at the age of sixty-six, we can see more clearly than before that many of his best poems have been intense, concentrated, and very self-contained; enduring, yet slight and hard to keep in view; quick trout in cold, almost silent streams. Sensuality and violence are often present in these poems, yet are used not as weapons against the reader but as the raw material of the poet's sensibility. After all, "classical restraint" does imply something to be restrained. The protagonist of "McAlpin Garfinkel, Poet," an early piece, explains:

> It is enough for me to tremble,
> my vital organs directed toward the
> sun,
> toward the stars,
> trembling.
>
> It is better for me to stand at street
> corners
> staring at women, seeing their bodies
> flowering
> like new continents, hills warm in
> sunshine and
> long deep rivers,
> (even as I am,
> trembling)
> than to be nothing, to fade away in
> grass and stone.

ANOTHER ASPECT of Gregory's elusive yet passionate presence lies in his talent for assimilating the methods of other poets without losing his own voice in the process. Far more than most young poets of high promise, he showed this talent in his important first book, *Chelsea Rooming House* (1930). Thus, the passage just quoted is a curious derivation from both Masters and Lawrence. Another poem recalls "Prufrock," another, those wryly whimsical pieces of Sandburg's built around bits of casual slang. Only a hint remains, after all the winnowing and rearrangement, of the uncertainties and unevenness of the original 1930 volume. Its best poem, "Longface Mahoney Discusses Heaven," now leads off the entire collection. Nothing could show more beautifully how Gregory accepted the poet's task of being both spontaneous and "academic"—of absorbing experience and the living idiom freshly into his work while learning what he can from the whole poetic tradition. The monologue of Longface presents a derelict's reveries and gives us, simultaneously, the pathetic clichés of vulgar imagination and a subtle rendering of the speaker's inmost feeling:

> If someone said, Escape,
> let's get away from here,
> you'd see snow mountains. . . .

Throughout the poem, Longface himself is banal in his sub-Romantic dream of paradise. First he imagines the freedom of high mountains, then the joys of the tropics, with "a row of girls dancing on a beach," and at last a room of his own with a brass bed and a girl of his own. He lingers over this minimal vision of a paradise "where marriage nights are kept," and then his thought goes full circle like Keats's in the nightingale poem. The last stanza is a peculiarly urban, deadbeat version of Romantic despair:

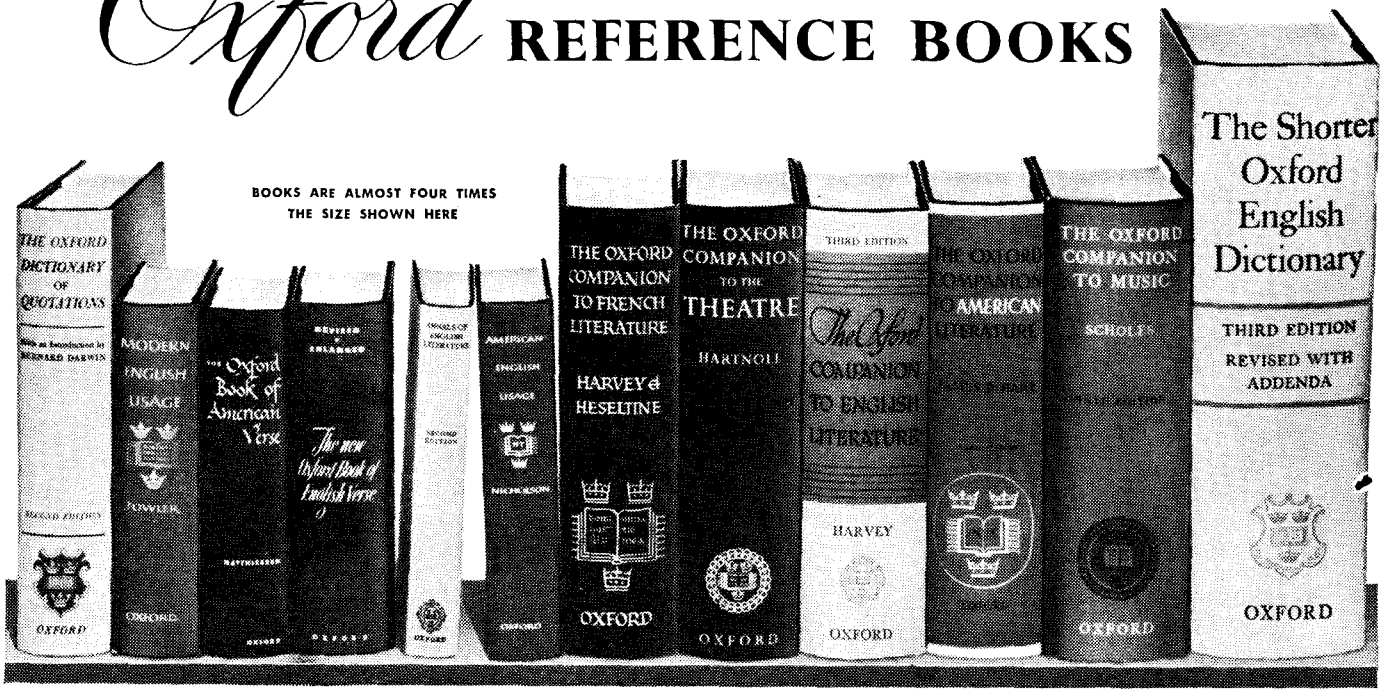
> If you've done something
> and the cops get you afterwards,
> you
> can't remember the place again. . . .

"Longface Mahoney" illustrates Gregory's gift for coloring the objective element unifying one of his poems (a dramatic speaker, a transcendent symbol, a physical scene) with his own essentially elegiac pigments. The objective presentation—for instance, that of the bum in this poem dreaming pessimistically of escape—will have its own life, but within it the poet's inwardly rooted feeling shapes a more private realization. Often the speaker is an alienated or rejected character—beggar, salesman *manqué*, carrier of lost traditions. The poet identifies himself with him and yet keeps himself apart, as if to preserve intact his own sensibility, containing it rather than expressing it. His instinct to hold apart some vital private meaning was possibly encouraged by his struggle, in the late 1920's and in the 1930's, to resist the strong pressures toward political tendentiousness, and by the parallel need, oddly, to resist also the overwhelming effects of his interest in Latin poetry. (His early translation of Catullus and his

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Take your choice

OF THESE INDISPENSABLE Oxford REFERENCE BOOKS



THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS

With an introduction by BERNARD DARWIN. Most convenient of quotation books. Fuller cross reference of more than 40,000 quotations makes it possible to compare similar and related phrases and ideas. New Index gives the number of each quotation on its page. *2nd Revised Edition.* 1,022 pages.

A DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE

By H. W. FOWLER. The classic authority on correct speech and writing. Settles innumerable *knotty questions of correct spelling,* grammar and recognized usage, with sound guidance and many examples. *14th Printing.* 750 pages.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE

Chosen, with an Introduction, by F. O. MATTHIESSEN. Includes 571 selections from the works of 51 American poets ranging from the seventeenth century to the young poets of today. 1,188 pages.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE

Chosen and edited by SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH. The best known and probably the most highly prized anthology of English poetry. Covers seven centuries of poetic development from thirteenth-century lyrics to modern poetry. *Revised Edition.* 1,198 pages.

ANNALS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1475-1950

NEW, REVISED EDITION

Long out of print, this "indispensable" reference work (CYRIL CONNOLLY) is now enlarged and brought up to date. It includes the main publications of any year, both literary and periodical: foreign events with a bearing on literature; and an alphabetical index of authors and their works. 400 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO FRENCH LITERATURE

Compiled and edited by SIR PAUL HARVEY *and* J. E. HESELTINE. 6,000 entries: articles on poets, novelists, dramatists, critics, historians, scientists, statesmen, philosophers; biographies, etc.; 900 pages; alphabetical listing; cross-referencing; 2 maps.

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN-ENGLISH USAGE

By MARGARET NICHOLSON, based on *Fowler's Modern English Usage.* The "faster Fowler," especially prepared for Americans. Adds new words and idioms and variations in American and English usage and spelling. 684 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO THE THEATRE

Edited by PHYLLIS HARTNOLL. A one-volume encyclopedia of the theatre in all countries and all periods. This second edition has a supplement containing 154 illustrations and four pages of additional bibliography. *Second Edition.* 1,028 pages. *Illustrated.*

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE

Compiled and edited by SIR PAUL HARVEY. Covers alphabetically by title and author more than ten centuries of literature in the English language, with brief biographies of writers, summaries of plots, and explanations of the many allusions commonly met with in our literature. *3rd Edition.* 940 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE

By JAMES D. HART. The standard guide to American books and authors, thoroughly revised and brought up to date with summaries of recent books and information on writers who have come into prominence since 1948. *3rd Edition.* 898 pages.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO MUSIC

By PERCY A. SCHOLES. The most famous of all *one-volume musical encyclopedias, brought* up-to-date with new material on contemporary music and musicians. Includes biographies, opera plots and a Pronouncing Glossary of some 7,000 names and terms. *9th Edition. Illustrated.* 1,255 pages.

THE SHORTER OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Prepared by WILLIAM LITTLE, H. W. FOWLER *and* J. COULSON. *Revised and edited by* C. T. ONIONS. The big one-volume dictionary (also known as *The Oxford Universal Dictionary*) based on the renowned "historical principles" which have made the original 13-volume *Oxford English Dictionary* a recognized classic. *3rd Edition.* 2,538 pages.

A unique offer to Reporter readers

"OXFORD . . . publishes the best reference books in the English language," says Charles Poore in *Harper's.* Undoubtedly you have always wanted to own several, or all, of the books described on this page. Now, for a limited time, you have the privilege of examining your choice of these titles in your own home, with the understanding that you may pay for them on a budget plan. (Details are explained in the coupon below.)

This is your golden opportunity to build an Oxford reference *library that is the dream of every educated person . . . on terms that* permit easy monthly payments.

Published and periodically revised by Oxford University Press, honored by scholars and treasured by their owners, these modern reference works form a bond of kinship between men and women of culture throughout the world. Which of them belongs in your library *now?* You can make the choice without moving from your chair; use the coupon below to order as many volumes as you wish. *You need send no money.* Simply indicate the titles you wish, clip the coupon, and mail it.

THIS OFFER GOOD ONLY IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.

SPECIAL OXFORD PURCHASE PLAN

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, INC.
16-00 Pollitt Drive, Fair Lawn, N. J. 07410

Please send me the Oxford Reference Books I have checked. If my order totals more than $11.00 I am to receive an itemized invoice. This may be paid in full or *at the rate of $5.00 a month* until the last remaining balance is paid.

Orders totaling less than $11.00 will be accompanied by a bill payable in full at the end of 30 days.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone__ State_____

0-7

- ☐ COMPANION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE $10.00
- ☐ COMPANION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE $10.00
- ☐ COMPANION TO FRENCH LITERATURE $13.00
- ☐ ANNALS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1475-1950 $6.50
- ☐ COMPANION TO MUSIC $25.00
- ☐ COMPANION TO THE THEATRE $13.00
- ☐ FOWLER: MODERN ENGLISH USAGE $4.50
- ☐ NICHOLSON: AMERICAN-ENGLISH USAGE $6.50
- ☐ OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE $7.00
- ☐ OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE $7.50
- ☐ OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS $11.00
- ☐ SHORTER OXFORD ENGLISH (OXFORD UNIVERSAL) DICTIONARY $32.00

COPYRIGHTED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recent work with Ovid have clearly left their impress on his own writing.)

It is interesting to see how, in the poems included from the early 1930's, the intrusively tendentious elements are overborne as it were—though not often completely assimilated—by a powerful advance in ability to handle pure sound, learned from the whole lyrical tradition. In *The Meek Shall Disinherit the Earth,* the dominant voice is that of a half-forgotten older poet whom the younger man has come to visit. There are some stylistic echoes from "Portrait of a Lady," but instead of Eliot's abrupt transitions and preoccupation with a specific and difficult relationship between the two figures in the poem, the progression is direct and more musical than dramatic or psychological. Even the most objective moments of self-characterization unfold quite simply:

"I sometimes feel that I have lived
forever in this room:
the rent unpaid, yet I am fed and
watered
like a geranium on that window
sill—
by landlady, charwoman, or foolish
girl
who disappears at noon
leaving her alms behind. . . .

No, I'm not bitter: I am always
friendly.
I always threaten meekness every-
where,
my face the preternaturally calm
forgiving smile. . . ."

In these lines the rhythmic play of rhetoric, which had been expansive, is momentarily minimized, but later it expands again to end the poem, not with a dramatic gesture or psychological nuance but with the music, paradoxically triumphant, of cosmic melancholy:

"Last night I saw a flame
pour out of darkness over eastern
heavens:
the earth had perished on the
farther shore,
an ocean wilderness on either
hand . . .
the sound of the sea shall be my
requiem."

The poet seems to have discovered the voice of his full maturity with what are now the first and fourth poems of the *Passion of M'Phail* sequence, originally published in *Poems 1930-1940.* These poems still stand as the embodiment of the very idiosyncratic Gregorian method. Witty, sad, incredibly vigorous, sardonic at odd moments, they are the work of a blazing intelligence. Of their kind, they are surpassed only by "The Beggar on the Beach," in *Selected Poems* (1951). I should pause for a moment, too, over "Opera, Opera!" which appeared in the same 1951 volume and is among our finest examples of Gregory's artistry. Written a half dozen years or so before his magnificent translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* it foreshadows that work in its freely varied imagery as it rings the changes on the theme of appearance, reality, and imagination in their relations to one another. The poem is centered on a clear-seeming focal symbol, a pair of archetypal opera glasses, through which patrons see far more than what goes on before the usual audience at a performance. Through them, a whole series of related symbols and associations is concretely deployed. Sets and backdrops, singers in and out of their roles, the mythical parts they play and the myths behind those parts, and finally, by a daring yet casual redirection of the lenses, the constellations, all of history, and the universe are brought into tragic perspective:

In the Green Room he saw
The woman who was once
Eurydice,
Naked as Eve with Adam at her
side,
Kiss the reflection of her lips within
a mirror.
It was then he noticed that the
house was empty,
That the galleries were dark and all
the faces gone.
It was as though he had fallen into
a cave,
And he felt the invisible shadow of
Anubis
Walk through the aisles. . . .

I feel somewhat ridiculous about attempting to introduce this well-established poet to readers. In doing so, I realize, I have neglected his most recent work. The important thing is that a fine, sensitive, original voice, a spirit at once generous and fastidious, sophisticated and energetic, has long been among us, and that we now have the opportunity to read in a single volume one of the most interesting bodies of poems to be made available to us in some years.

An Old Hand Speaks Out

CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

FOREIGN AND OTHER AFFAIRS: A VIEW FROM THE RADICAL CENTER, by John Paton Davies, Jr. *Norton. $4*

Whatever the implication of the subtitle to his new book, John Davies does not operate a center for radicals. He designs and manufactures modish furniture in Lima, Peru, and his outlook is conservative in an old, proper, and now neglected sense.

So indeed it was a decade ago at the time of his controversial dismissal from the Foreign Service. That act was an anomaly of the high tide of McCarthyism. Davies was cleared of disloyalty charges growing out of his prophetic reportage on China, but Secretary of State John Foster Dulles found against Davies anyway on grounds of imprudence—and thereupon offered himself as a personal reference in Davies's quest of a new job. Davies found one on his own and has earned renown in a new career. Commercial success, however, has not dimmed his interest in world politics.

Perceptiveness and outspokenness and an acute style characterized Davies's work as a diplomat. His memoranda and dispatches were invariably challenging. His opinions were unequivocal and he made trouble for himself both for what he said and for how he said it. These traits have not changed. *Foreign and Other Affairs* is a winning combination of candor and good prose, a welcome contrast to the prevalent run of dull and pontifical books about world politics.

The gist is austere. According to Davies, the successful ventures in U.S. foreign policy since the Second World War have been limited to European and Japanese economic rehabilitation and to military measures countering the Soviet threat. Otherwise, policymakers have managed mainly to overdo the supersell, combining grandeur with naïveté and zeal in a sort of Paul Bunyan approach.

He describes American foreign

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

policy as "wrapped in exalted yet fearful dreams." The disarmament charades at Geneva have negligible relevance to substantive problems of peace and security. He writes off hopes for generating world authority for the U.N., to Davies "an arena of conspiracy, petty intrigue, and bombast" whose "artificial environment . . . is a poor cram course for international realities." He is no more optimistic about the "Grand Design for a vaguely united Europe," about what he calls the "de-Latinization" of Latin America through the Alliance for Progress, or about our efforts in Southeast Asia to summon "the fatalistic to challenge their fate."

He recounts the Kennedy administration's shocked response at a military takeover in Peru, only a few months after our southern neighbors had all vowed at the Punta del Este conference to foster democratic and constitutional processes. Here was one of the subscribing régimes being forced from authority by unconstitutional means! To Washington this was a blow to faith in the power of pledged words and to the belief "that after the wedding at Punta del Este, we would remain our own lovely selves, but that through this union we would wreak on our partners a transformation for the better." Discerning a "trend in the underdeveloped part of the world . . . not toward democracy but toward authoritarianism," Davies counsels Americans "to learn to live with it because they will not be able to change it."

DAVIES'S BOOK is replete with astringent advice of that sort. He is not being perverse. He is sure that mankind will not enter Utopia in any event, and he wants to do what he can to keep the nation from being hit by a swinging door in the attempt. In this mood, he does what he can to trim a number of our overoptimistic expectations down to size. Though full of up-to-the-minute observations, this is, in sum, an old-fashioned sort of book. Exponents of classic diplomatic method will agree with it in general—and in particular with the blasts against the current fad of itinerant, busybody, publicity-motivated diplomacy of great personages who visit back and forth between capitals creating pseudo events. As to method, his plea is for a renewal of professional traditions in policy and diplomacy, and in this connection he has praise for the work being done by Senator Henry Jackson's subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations. As to substance, the appeal is to the spirit of finite nationhood. An obdurate national spirit may be thwarting our designs for Europe, but on the other hand, it promises to foul up designs for a world regulated by international Communism.

Applying the lesson domestically, Davies enjoins us to remember that ". . . it is not what we say abroad that is vital. Our first obligation is to ourselves, that at home we fulfill in integrity our native heritage and promise, that we be the ruler of our own spirit." «»

Growing Up Rich

JOHN WILLIAM WARD

CHILDREN AND OTHERS, by James Gould Cozzens. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $5.95.*

Until the appearance in 1957 of *By Love Possessed*, most critics ignored Cozzens. Even when he received the Pulitzer Prize for *Guard of Honor* in 1948, the *Literary History of the United States*, a three-volume cooperative venture that appeared the same year, made no mention of him, not even in its massive bibliography. And *Guard of Honor* was his seventh novel since *S.S. San Pedro* (1931); his eleventh if one counts four published in the twenties, which Cozzens does not include in the list of his works. *By Love Possessed* changed all this. A book by him now is an event.

Children and Others is a collection of stories, nearly all from the 1930's and most of them first published in the *Saturday Evening Post* (that would offer an easy way out if Fitzgerald and Faulkner were not there); two are new, including the last and longest. Whoever did the cover has a nice eye: the title is spelled out by letters on children's blocks. The stories too are building blocks. They are the short form Cozzens put away once he fully matured as a writer; and more importantly, they build toward what has come to be Cozzens's major theme: what it is to grow up and be a man. Except for young Francis Ellery in *Ask Me Tomorrow*, the Cozzens hero is generally an older man, one schooled in the complexity of experience who still retains the capacity and the courage to act. Colonel Ross, the old judge on wartime duty in *Guard of Honor*, is the best instance. That hero is here in these stories, but on the edge of them, usually in the figure of the father. In "Total Stranger," the prep-school boy who discovers how little he knows his father muses in retrospect: "My father had the habit, half stoical, half insensitive, of making the best of anything there was." But since the stories present the world of children, the insensitive half of adult wisdom constantly undercuts the admirable stoical half.

Not that Cozzens has any romantic notions about the innocent child trailing clouds of glory. He does for the private-school world of the young rich what Edith Wharton did for the upper-class New York world of their parents. Along with the patina of a vanished world of manners and class, Cozzens recovers the mean, muscular, hazing, anti-intellectual world of prep-school America ("We'll Recall It With Affection"), or the blind and brutal unreason that infects the young at school as well as their elders in the world ("The Guns of the Enemy"). Cozzens's children are, in these stories, hesitant, unhappy, troubled by the adult world, barely aware of the meaning of what lies about them. Passage into

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the grown-up world hurts, and Cozzens shows us the costs of the process.

Cozzens has won over the years a number of constant readers who will look for ways in which stories in *Children and Others* connect with his novels. But that kind of interest is rather special; furthermore, it puts the stories in the background. There are enough good ones to stand by themselves even though the heavy hand of the slicks rests on some. In "Someday You'll Be Sorry," the famous graduate returns as the main attraction to a school reunion, savoring the chance to dispel the haze of happy recollection that hides the cruel past, but finds he cannot bring himself to enjoy his moment of revenge; the sentimental conclusion seems tailored to provide the necessary happy ending. "Farewell to Cuba" is built around the gimmick of withheld information for no better purpose than a surprise ending. But generally the quality is high and the range wide indeed. "Every Day's a Holiday," a glimpse of the careless world of a twice-divorced slut, displays an ear for the spoken word and a tolerant affection for messy people that is rare in Cozzens. "Whose Broad Stripes and Bright Stars" captures a child's telling awareness of the iron inhumanity of German authoritarianism and his disorderly and instinctive resistance to what he senses beneath the ordered surface of German culture before the First World War. "Child's Play" is a wonderfully economical story of three generations and the discovery of a common fate between a child and his grandfather.

The last story, "Eyes to See," is the longest. It too deals with the coming of age of a young man; and its place in the book, together with the fact it is recent and has never been published before, unfortunately focuses attention on it—unfortunately because it fails. It is told in retrospect about a boy away at school who upon the sudden death of his mother comes home to discover that his young child's notion of "Mother" encompasses only a fraction of his mother's life, is exposed to the rumors of a world he never knew, and finally accepts the end of his own childhood. What troubles the story is the simple fact that the narrator tells it in wooden words and with a clinical detachment which might be appropriate to the mute shock of the boy but which is all wrong for the intelligence of the man who was that boy. The technical flaw lies in a mismanagement of the point of view in the story, and that technical flaw creates confusion about the meaning of the climax.

Although "Eyes to See" may raise doubts about Cozzens's present work, the collection taken as a whole should remind us that we have too few writers in his class to ignore him again. «»

Dulles as Villain

GORDON A. CRAIG

Dulles Over Suez: The Theory and Practice of His Diplomacy, by Herman Finer. *Quadrangle Books. $7.50.*

It is by now pretty well agreed that the Suez crisis was not John Foster Dulles's finest hour. In the series of events that began with the American repudiation of the promise to support the construction of the Aswan Dam and ended with the melancholy spectacle of the United States arraigning its closest allies before the United Nations General Assembly, all the worst aspects of Secretary Dulles's diplomacy were made evident: his inability to place himself in the position of those with whom he was dealing, his unwillingness to give due weight to the requirements of coalition diplomacy, his apparent reluctance on occasion to respect the legitimate interests of his allies, his failure to convey his exact intentions to his friends and associates, and his habit of equivocation in time of crisis. These aspects of Dulles's diplomatic style exasperated and angered his British and French colleagues and in the end persuaded them that he was deliberately misleading them. This in turn led to the rash and ill-prepared military venture of November, 1956, the strong reaction of the U.S. government, the near collapse of the NATO alliance, and an undoubted prestige victory for the Soviet Union.

Granted all this, it is doubtful whether the faults of Dulles's statecraft were so grievous as to justify the five-hundred-page attack that Herman Finer has made upon them; and it is possible that it will inspire some of its readers with sympathy for the late Secretary of State. For Mr. Finer has written a tract rather than an objective analysis, and his intemperate and abusive tone becomes tedious.

Also unsatisfactory is the way in which Mr. Finer has presented his case. He tells us that he has interviewed some thirty top men "who, in and around the Suez affair, directly participated with Dulles and Eisenhower in developing and executing American policy decisions. In addition, the principal representatives of Britain and France, Prime Ministers Eden and Mollet and Foreign Ministers Selwyn Lloyd and Christian Pineau, as well as knowledgeable Israeli and Egyptian officials, were interviewed." A list of those interviewed appears in the book. On the other hand, Mr. Finer writes, "To my informants, I promised no attribution." One can see that this was probably necessary, but where does it leave the reader? How can he judge the accuracy or relative importance of any statement or judgment recorded when he doesn't know whether it came from an official directly concerned with the incident or issue being discussed, or from someone who knew someone else who was a friend of an official remotely concerned? Or whether, for that matter, it is merely an idea of Mr. Finer's?

When the author describes Ambassador Hervé Alphand's first conversation with Secretary Dulles after the dispatch of the British-French ultimatum to Egypt, he writes: "Dulles's face flushed with anger. In a tone that was a mixture of grief, rebuke, and insult, he burst out in recrimination," and he then gives us, in quotation marks, a speech of 132 words. Since the passage is not footnoted, the reader is left free to guess whether this speech represents a feat of total recall by M. Alphand, a reconstruction based on what Alphand or someone else thought was the sense of Dulles's remarks (and recollections of what happened in emotion-charged situations are no-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ingredients OF Change

here and elsewhere, then and now.

PUBLIC POLICY AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN MEXICO

Edited by Raymond Vernon, Harvard Business School. This is the companion volume to Mr. Vernon's THE DILEMMA OF MEXICO'S DEVELOPMENT ($4.95), which broke a 30-year sales record among English-language books in Mexico City. In this new volume, five leading authorities explore vital aspects of Mexico's economy. Their analyses highlight the roles of, and the relations between, the public and private sectors in the economic development of Mexico — and elsewhere. $6.95

AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES AND WESTERN TRADITION

By Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, University of Cambridge. Universities — like motor cars — are among Africa's imports from the West. But, insists Mr. Ashby, if universities are to take root in Africa, they must not remain carbon copies of the university patterns of others, but must become truly *African.* How the African university can adapt to Africa's social and cultural climate, and how channels of communication can be built between the African intellectual and the people, are the subjects of his book. $2.95

THE BUTCHER WORKMEN: A Study of Unionization

By David Brody, Columbia University. The phenomenal growth of trade unionism in the early part of this century brought with it little-understood but far reaching changes in American life. By scrutinizing the unionization and growth of one industry — meat packing and retailing — Mr. Brody illuminates for the first time the actual process of unionization. $6.50

THE VENDÉE

By Charles Tilly, Department of Sociology, Harvard University. In 1793 a great uprising in the Vendée region in the West of France threatened the very life of the Revolution. It was a revolt so violent and persistent that the military resources of the young French republic were critically taxed for more than a year. This dramatic episode — which scholars both here and abroad have either largely ignored or presented conventionally — at last receives the objective analysis it deserves in a study that makes use of modern sociological methods. Illus. $8.50

AN INTRODUCTION TO ISLAMIC COSMOLOGICAL DOCTRINES
Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwan al Safā, al-Bīrūnī, and Ibn Sīnā

By Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Tehran University. Through the works of three leading 10th- and 11th-century thinkers, Mr. Nasr traces one important thread in the complex process by which the Islamic community discovered its own true nature and habitat. (A Belknap Press book) $6.95

Ask your bookseller

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toriously faulty), or what Mr. Finer thought it was likely that Secretary Dulles would have said on this occasion.

Mr. Finer's attempts to circumvent his own self-imposed ban on attribution are not very successful. A statement like "I can report, on evidence from one of the most honorable diplomats in international politics since 1945—and he is *not* American or European" is baffling rather than helpful. Nor are the difficulties of his method resolved on those rare occasions when he drops the veil completely. Take this passage: "The electoral preoccupation became even more influential with the passage of the weeks toward the dénouement of the election. Dulles wanted to go on being Secretary of State, since, seriously, of course, the Moral Order of the World depended on it, in his opinion. To this Vice-President Nixon is witness." To what precisely was the Vice-President witness? It is impossible to tell, just as it is impossible to decide how much of the following statement represents Nixon's testimony: "Vice-President Nixon, a very close witness, testifies to Dulles's dismay when he found his self-confidence had betrayed him. He felt like a cuckold."

In this last connection, it must be said that most of Mr. Finer's attempts to reconstruct Secretary Dulles's thinking raise serious questions. What, for instance, is one to make of a passage like this? "Dulles did not like Britain or Eden. . . . He mistrusted the urbanity, the polish, the aristocratic glamor, even if now dimmed, of its society, which was still class-ridden as compared with American society. He rather distrusted the fact that Englishmen liked Ike and that Ike liked the English! Look at the way Eden sat at international conferences—as though he were being photographed by Karsh and posed by Otto Preminger! Just like Dean Acheson—you couldn't tell them apart!" From what sources are these remarkable statements derived? And, whatever the sources, is it at all likely that Dulles thought in these terms?

One might have more confidence in Mr. Finer's assessments of the Secretary of State's thinking if he did not make his dislike of Dulles so clear. He carries this so far that he even finds it suspicious that Dulles should ever have *wanted* to be Secretary of State—although why this should be reprehensible in a land in which every red-blooded American boy is, or was, supposed to want to grow up to be President is not at all clear—and he denies him any motive except "to indulge his own conceit as a potent maestro of world political *savoir-faire*." He seems particularly irritated by the fact that Dulles was a practicing Christian and an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and his book is filled with ponderous asides about Dulles's pharisaism, his "Calvinistically zealous" behavior, his "noble, Christian answer," his "religiosity," "sanctimoniousness," and "self-righteousness," remarks to the effect that "the President regarded John Foster Dulles as St. Peter," and passages like: "October 25 was a particularly glorious day in Dulles's office . . . . the Soviet empire was on the decline. Faith had been justified. The sinners were being whipped at last. God was not mocked!"

Mr. Finer never seems to be willing to give Secretary Dulles the benefit of the doubt. In his brief reference to the Japanese Peace Treaty negotiations of 1951, for instance, he accuses Dulles of "calculated duplicity" in his dealings with Herbert Morrison, although it is just as likely that Morrison, a notoriously inept Foreign Secretary, simply did not understand what Dulles said to him. He charges Dulles with having done "nothing substantial to put the pieces together" after the French National Assembly's defeat of the European Defense Community in August, 1954, a statement that he might have modified if he had included some German statesmen in the list of those he interviewed. In his account of the Suez crisis the same tendency to believe the worst of Dulles is evident. The secretary's less than adroit, and sometimes less than candid, dealings with his allies he describes in the severest possible terms, and he does not hesitate to suggest that Dulles encouraged opposition in British public opinion to a strong anti-Nasser line in order to have an excuse for refusing to take that line himself.

Most questionable of all is his frequent assertion that, when the chips were down, the secretary lost his nerve. The references to Dulles's fear—he "was intimidated by what Moscow *might* do"; "Dulles's blood froze"; "a panic-stricken attempt to salvage something"; "Russia was the specter before which they [Dulles and Eisenhower] quailed"; etc.—are almost as frequent as the references to religion, but there doesn't seem to be much evidence to support them. From the very beginning of the crisis, Dulles was naturally concerned over the possibility of Soviet intervention, and his tactics were influenced by this concern. But in estimating the military intentions of the Soviet Union he was guided by the President, and Robert Murphy has written that Eisenhower did not believe for a moment in the possibility of Soviet military action. There was no reason for Dulles to panic. Eden's reaction to Soviet threats is another question.

As has already been indicated, much that went wrong with the western cause at Suez can be attributed to Dulles's failures to communicate effectively with his allies and to his faults of omission and commission; and the consequences were very serious indeed, as Mr. Finer points out in his last chapter. But the situation was not of Dulles's making—surely the crisis would have come even if he had not withdrawn the promised Aswan loan—and he was not the man who determined its development, nor the only one who made mistakes. Much that Mr. Finer has written is shrewd and needed to be said, but he has weakened its effect by regarding John Foster Dulles as the villain of the Suez tragedy, and a villain without any redeeming qualities. It might be fairer to think of him as an American statesman with a normal quota of human frailties, seeking to balance conflicting claims in a tense and developing situation, trying desperately to retain the support of public opinion, to maintain solidarity in the alliance, to avoid alienating the uncommitted nations, and to preserve the peace without paying too high a price—and, despite his efforts and because of mistakes on his part and that of others, not succeeding.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This 2 handicap golfer also happens to blend the world's finest Scotch.

George Thomson lines up his putt at the Kilmarnock (Barassie) Golf Club. He plays an excellent game of golf, but his true claim to fame is the "educated" nose he uses to blend Johnnie Walker.

Its name is Johnnie Walker Black Label. And its secret is the precise, authoritarian nose of one man. George Thomson, third master blender in the 144-year-old history of John Walker & Sons.

Why his whisky stands apart. Experts will tell you the sumptuous character of Black Label can come only from the richest of the 101 straight malt whiskies produced in Scotland. And Mr. Thomson's educated nose knows them all—their characteristics, their personalities, and how they'll "marry" with others.

For Black Label, he uses more than 40 of the expensive "single malts." To this blend of flavorful Highland malts, George Thomson adds just the exact amount of aged Scotch grain whisky necessary to complete the unique formula that is Johnnie Walker Black Label.

Are you paying a premium for Scotch? If you're paying for "the best," you ought to be getting all the smooth Scotch richness and true Scotch character of Johnnie Walker Black Label.

The superiority of it is recognized throughout the world by people who know Scotch whisky. It's in such demand in the United Kingdom that it's actually on ration there. But the current U.S. quota allows you to get a reasonable supply.

Ask for Black Label tonight. Its smooth, satisfying flavor could change your taste for fine Scotch.

BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND. BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY, 86.8 PROOF.
IMPORTED BY CANADA DRY CORPORATION, NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Entrevue de Napoléon et du Grand-duc Ferdinand à Wurtzbourg. Détail de la peinture par Hippolyte Lecomte. (Musée de Versailles.)

Napoleon confers with his host at Würzburg, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, whose niece, Marie-Louise, was destined to become the second Empress of the French in 1810. A few days after this interview, Napoleon attacked Prussia and was completely victorious at Jena and Auerstädt on October 14, 1806.

COURVOISIER

COGNAC

How the splendours of the past are recaptured in the rarest of pleasures today! Courvoisier Cognac, with its matchless flavour and bouquet, reveals itself as *The Brandy of Napoleon*—a part of the "*honneur, gloire et richesse*" that his own words proclaimed. And as we sip it, we discover why Courvoisier has long been the choice of kings and statesmen, of all who can command the finest.

80 Proof

*Courvoisier Cognac—and Courvoisier only—bears this registered phrase on every bottle. Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.

IMPORTED BY W. A. TAYLOR & COMPANY, NEW YORK, N.Y., SOLE DISTRIBUTORS FOR THE U.S.A.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED